SPECIAL:
De Gaulle's Challenge
To U.S. Leadership

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FEBRUARY 25, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

CONSERVATIVE ANSWERS TO

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COLM BROGAN ON THE NEWEST TORY FLAP ◆ THOMAS MOLNAR ON THE TRANSKEI EXPERIMENT ◆ VON DREELE'S SING ALONG WITH LIBERAL REPUBLICANS ◆ & RUSSELL'S FIELDING OF TOM JONES

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.).

© National Review, Inc. 1964. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ we pass the ammunition. Conservatives are often asked to "defend" or "explain" Senator Goldwater's position on everything from twin candidacies to civil rights, preferably in one minute or less. Here, in "Answers for Conservatives," the editors offer formulations to describe the conservative positions on some two dozen of the most important questions of our time, or any time. . . . And the un-Beatleable **William von Dreele** cuts loose with a volley of song, rehearsing six melodies that have passed into the reservoir of American glee, but with lyrics you'll never hear from Senator Keating's choir. Okay now, all together.

➔ **Colm Brogan,** our fearless spy in London, who has definitely not come in from the cold, takes you through the catacombs of the Conservative Party, where lie buried, politically speaking, Harold Macmillan, Iain Macleod, Enoch Powell, and so many others, whose epitaphs appear so strangely to have been smudged by Randolph (is Randolph is Randolph) Churchill. . . . Gen. de Gaulle's monstrous delinquencies, most recently exercised in his bid to recognize Red China (the European press shows de Gaulle strumming a guitar, singing *"Parlez-Mao d'amour"*), occupy the attention of two expert observers. **James Burnham** passes beyond the historical squabble over who's to blame for the anti-NATO antics of de Gaulle, and says it is now the duty of the U.S. to look at its policies as squarely as de Gaulle has, and decide whether to fish or cut bait. . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn,** looking at de Gaulle through a 20-20 set of European eyes, finds his recognition of Peking deplorable, but gives weight to the French misgivings concerning American miscalculations and errors in foreign policy over two decades. De Gaulle, it would appear, is isolating the U.S. . . . **Thomas Molnar**'s sabbatical journey has taken him to South Africa. The Bantus, he says, are at least as well off in South Africa as they are anywhere south of the Sahara, because there's an orderly civilization they can get a slice of; and the program of developing semi-autonomous republics just may work. . . . **Russell Kirk** casts a frore glance at the plan of NYC's Board of Higher Education to fling wide the portals of the city colleges. The students oppose it, most of the faculties oppose it, and it will damage those for whom it is, ostensibly, fashioned, since these are the very ones who need the most individual attention.

➔ **Melchior Palyi,** the eminent economist, columnist, and author, reviews with delight a brilliant work by Prof. W. H. Hutt of South Africa: *Keynesianism: Retrospect and Prospect,* and finds it a noble companion to the works of Henry Hazlitt, among others, in scotching an always modern, always ancient myth. . . . **Guy Davenport,** gentleman that he is, reviews three lady novelists and comes up with a smile for two of them and a pat on the head for wee Caroline Glyn. . . . **Lawrence Brown,** whose startling work on the philosophy of history, *The Might of the West,* we'll review in an early issue, wonders if Parkinson as historian isn't a victim of Parkinson's Law. . . .And **Francis Russell** has gone to the cinema again. He thinks *Tom Jones* might make a good novel. ➔

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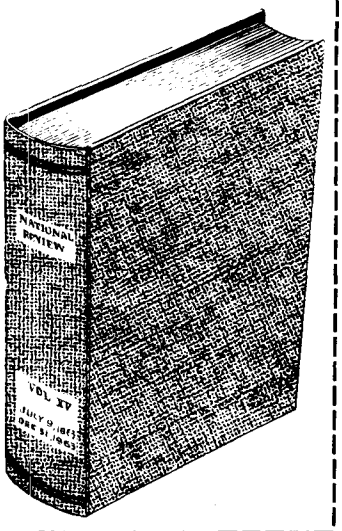

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The WEEK

● The CIA ran a perfect operation. Now that it has its hands on Soviet defector Yuri Nossenko it may be able to find out just how far our delegation *really* intends to go in the Disarmament Ballet!

● When sovereignty over Cyprus was settled in the Peace of Antalcidas in the fourth century before Christ, the dispute between Greek and non-Greek was already twelve hundred years old. It is about 3,500 years old now, and just as lively as ever, giving pause, one would think, to those statesmen and soldiers who would snap their fingers at the tempest. Yet, even if there is little that can be done between Greek and Turk on Cyprus, there is much that can be done in questions of wider import that also center on the Cyprus roil. Between the Communist bloc and the West, Cyprus is a prize of high value, offering an offshore strategic base bearing on the entire Near East, and a potential bottlestopper for the Suez Canal: Cyprus must be kept from Communist hands, at all costs. Within the West, Cyprus offers a chance for the NATO powers to exert themselves to protect their territory and interests: if the problem is fobbed off to the impotent UN, thereby permitting the Soviet Union to get directly in the act, then the NATO alliance will begin to look like a public relations stunt.

● Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense, and one of the chief Pentagon censors, has announced that for reasons of "national interest" no journalists will be allowed to visit the U.S. base at Guantanamo. Everyone knows you can't have a free press during a water shortage.

● For about a year now the Florida East Coast Railway has done a bang-up job running freight trains without benefit of union help, the unions insisting on not working unless they get paid wages that would cripple the company. Last week one of FEC's trains was blown off the tracks in a blast of dynamite, and a boiler that had been boobytrapped with explosives blew up when it was fired. That brings the tally to more than two hundred incidents of violence and sabotage directed against the company, its property, and its personnel. The NLRB averts its gaze, finding no unfair labor practice. Perhaps the Warren Commission would like to look into the activities of "hate groups" along the trackage between Jacksonville and Miami.

● From a column headed "New Hampshire Primaries: Backwoods Proving-Ground," by Newton F. Tolman, as published January 24 in the *Berkshire Eagle* (Pittsfield, Mass.): "This seemingly incredible ignoramus is actually a miserable racist hangover from the most degenerate of the McCarthyite mob, with all the finer instincts of a hyena and the principles of a small-town Hitler, and whose ferret mind is just crafty enough to appeal to every voter with a neurosis on income taxes, Communism, and 'inferior races' (which may well include a majority of us here in New Hampshire), in short, an egomaniac who would crawl under a snake's belly in an open sewer to salvage one misbegotten vote. . . . But we don't go in much for slinging mud up here. It's such a small state, and most everybody knows everybody else. So I'll merely go on record that this Goldwater candidacy has brought out all the bedbugs and cockroaches in every village and town, and more reptiles than you would believe could live in this climate—two former governors being among the slimiest—and let it go at that." It sure is lucky Mr. Newton F. Tolman doesn't go in for mudslinging, all right.

● Defense Minister Malinovsky lashed a group of Soviet writers and film artists for spreading "pacifist themes and the abstract negation of war." He suggested they emphasize instead the "lofty objectives of the struggle" and quit undermining the authority of military commanders. Us, we take our cue from Dr. Strangelove.

● The Favored Phew Dept., courtesy of the *Reading* (Penna.) *Times*, January 27: "SCRANTON IS FAVORED BY YOUNG REPUBLICANS. *Washington (AP)*—A poll taken at this week's Young Republican Leadership-Training School showed that 5.2 per cent favored Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania for the GOP Presidential nomination, the Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., report. . . . The group also [*also!*] reported that 82.7 per cent favored Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona."

● That CIA report on the lag in Soviet economic growth, which was so widely disparaged in the West, is picking up support in unexpected quarters. The CIA figures, showing a drop to less than 2.5 per cent annual growth in 1962 and 1963, as compared to a growth rate of 6 per cent in the 1950s, are being flourished about in Communist East Europe like a trophy. To the satellite governments, the report offers an excuse for their own economic disasters, suffered at the hands of idea men from the USSR, and in Rumania there is even talk of allowing free market competition. In the opinion of the population at large, the prestige of Communism is

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badly damaged. Meanwhile, the first independent Western appraisal of the report has come through. Economist Peter Wiles of Brandeis University, a specialist on Soviet affairs, declares that the CIA's "facts and the emphasis it gives them are impeccable."

● For $50,000,000,000 a year the U.S. taxpayers don't get very much defense. Why, after all, does Washington refuse to face a direct challenge in Panama? The Zone is ours by treaty, we've paid for it a hundred times over, and (*raison d'état*) we need it. If the U.S. Government staggers and falls under the load of such a minor local problem as that, and has to pass the buck to the Organization of American States, then what in the world is that fifty billion a year doing for us? It's an expensive way to lose.

● Last year the Advertising Council, which does things non-profitably in the name of public service, released an ad with the blazing caption: "This is one alternative to the United Nations." "This" was a nuclear explosion. Now the AC's Vice President in Charge of Non Sequiturs and Anti-Climaxes has thought up another good one, courtesy of Arnold Toynbee: "OF 21 NOTABLE CIVILIZATIONS, 19 PERISHED NOT FROM CONQUEST FROM WITHOUT, BUT FROM DECAY FROM WITHIN. . . . For information about a program that your school—any school—can put into effect promptly, write the President's Council on Physical Fitness, Washington 25, D.C."

● The cheering news is out that Public Action Inc., that highly effective service to concerned citizens, is back on the job for the second session of Congress, flashing timely and pertinent information about pending legislation to its subscribers. Voters who wish to make their views known to their representative, senator or to the President have in the past found, and will continue to find, Public Action's careful studies invaluable. Those who so desire may write: Public Action, 131 East 69th Street, New York, N. Y. 10021.

● In the quiet of the evening, with the television machinery turned off now that the Winter Olympics have melted away, one ponders the quantity of gold and bronze medals the Russians took home, and the number of Communist-bloc athletes and spectators who won the toughest race of all by making good their escape to the West and freedom. It is as if the West won the popularity poll and the Communists won the gold flow. But a serious observer, Sepp Ruschp, an Austrian ski racer of thirty years ago, former vice president of the International Federation of Skiing and presently the head of the Mt. Mansfield and Spruce Peak ski areas in Vermont, had deeper things to say: "What do the Winter Olympics prove? That the Soviet Union has the best natural athletes because it wins the most gold medals? Of course not. The Russians have people competing in events in which most nations are not even entered. The first thing you know, Olympic officials will be staging a women's biathlon—rifle shooting while skiing cross-country. Still, when the Russians win a first place in that type of contest, it counts as much as winning one for a major contest. The Russians capitalize on such victories to convince the world that their people lead in fitness as well as in prowess. Those close to the situation, however, know that what they probably are leading us in is only propaganda."

● *Bon Appétit:* Albert Kalonji, onetime King of South Kasai province in the Congo, has lost a defamation suit against the French magazine, *L'Express*, on a technicality. *L'Express* had charged that while making his getaway from the Congo last fall, Kalonji had eaten six persons.

Katanga? Who's That?

History runs along so fast these days that we have a hard enough time keeping track of what's doing this week, without trying to recall what was up a year or two ago. Still, we'd like to take a moment out for reminiscence, just for the record, as a computer might say.

On July 1, 1960 the Belgian Congo became an independent nation, *UN volente*, and a couple of days thereafter plunged into a sea of troubles. The UN, with American political, financial and logistic support, sent in an army of soldiers and bureaucrats to straighten things out. The UN contingent, still and always supported by the United States, diagnosed the trouble as due to Moise Tshombe and his secessionist program for the mineral-rich province of Katanga. Some of us in this country and in Europe objected that it seemed odd to try to cure the confusion in Equateur, Orientale, Léopoldville etc. provinces by clamping down on Katanga, the one province where law, order and an active economy were being maintained, and ousting the man who looked like the ablest Congolese in sight; that deliberately provoking a war was a curious way for the UN to carry out its mission of peace; that the government of the leading power in the world struggle of the West against Communism was rather perverse in sponsoring a policy directed against the most pro-Western and anti-Communist leader to appear in the Congo, perhaps in all decolonized Africa.

We were sternly rebuked by the powers above. The key to a progressive future for the Congo Republic, we were told, and to the defense of Africa against Communist inroads, was to bring Tshombe

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to heel and integrate Katanga into a unified nation governed from Léopoldville. Carl T. Rowan (newly appointed chief of USIA), then Assistant Secretary of State, explained in his scholarly way that we who were "sources of support for Tshombe and his policy of secession" are "a conglomeration of arch-conservatives; people who oppose the income tax; avowed defenders of racial segregation; opponents of fluoridation; those who want to destroy the Supreme Court, largely because of its ruling on school segregation, and so forth."

Well, Mr. Rowan and his boss, Conor Cruise O'Brien, and his boss, had their way. Tshombe's "secessionist regime" was duly smashed by the peace-loving UN tanks, Tshombe had to get out of the country, Katanga was brought within the fold, and the peachy-dandy custom-made government headed by a State Department-anointed socialist and trade unionist was given the green light plus piles of cash, food and supplies.

So? No need to catalogue; it's before us daily in the morning papers. New murders, savagery, cannibalism, arson, rape; destruction of entire villages; wiping out of missions and missionaries; hashish-saturated panga-wielding gangs of guerrillas led by Communist agents; mutinies and riots; the army commander all but assassinated a couple of months ago, his deputy killed by a poisoned arrow last month; the economy wrecked, taxes uncollected, inflation roaring; smuggling on a vast scale replacing trade; illegal arms flowing in from all quarters; guerrilla armies training to bring the Congo's blessings to neighboring countries; parliament not merely adjourned but abolished; foreign aid shifted to the black market to line bureaucratic pockets. . . .

You had your way, gentlemen. Your policy won, and was carried out to the letter. How do you like the results? What do you think today of the wisdom of that policy, with the results before you? Speak up, Mr. Rowan—you're the Voice of America now, and we want to hear you.

Praise the Lord and Pass That Jug of Water

Through the wee hours the lights glared in the offices of the Joint Chiefs. Out in McLean, in the big new building, the CIA Director alerted his networks. The giant computers hummed, burpled and clicked. In the code rooms, the coders were furiously coding. Out from the great antennae rushed the messages at their electronic speeds.

From every quarter of the global sea the ships sped to their rendezvous off San Juan. Nuclear submarines lifted their black snouts and the lean destroyers watchfully circled their racing carriers. At dawn on W-Day, looking his microphone straight in the button, the Admiral opened the text written by the USIA Chief in person. From 10,000 speakers came the resounding voice of the commander:

"Men, the moment we have so long waited for, the moment of action, the moment for which a Navy exists, is at hand. No more the painful frustration with which we have silently watched the enemy bombers overfly our most secret craft, the enemy trawlers charting our radar beams and coastal shelf, the enemy ships bringing arms and men to a score of lands and islands! Now at last, with the greatest concentration of power ever assembled at sea, we shall strike a blow that will take its place alongside Trafalgar, Manila, Midway and the Coral Sea.

"Men, we are going to carry water to Guantanamo!

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ As of this moment (hedge clause) Nelson Rockefeller looks politically dead. Signs have been out for some time, but they were signs, and early ones at that. A "friend of a friend" went up to New Hampshire two weeks ago and rang the first eighty Republican doorbells he could find. More than half were for Goldwater. A good many hadn't decided, or were playing the field. One (1) house was for Rockefeller. Last week the Scripps-Howard chain carried an article that began, "Scratch Rockefeller and it is very likely you will find a Democrat." Times can change, and Rockefeller's kind of money and organization can move mountains; but as of now he's far off the pace.

◆ From out California way, *NR*'s publisher reports the Goldwater movement to be humming along enthusiastically, having caught little of the post-assassination gloom that swept through the ranks in the mercurial East. California Republicans are convinced that Goldwater is well ahead in the GOP primary contest. They point out that Rockefeller's support from a fair number of local bigwigs hasn't trickled down, and that the eyebrow-raising about William Knowland's appointment of some of the old Nixon crowd to posts in the Goldwater organization is misplaced. To the extent that the Nixonites in California go for Goldwater, this bites into any support Nixon might get before July.

◆ Believe it or not, a Stevenson '64 Committee has been formed in New Jersey to push for a Johnson-Stevenson ticket.

◆ Texas political circles are hot with the gossip about White House "intervention" in Democratic maneuvers. Rep. Joe Kilgore, of the semi-conservative wing of the Texas Democratic party, had been wanting to run for the Senate against incumbent Senator Ralph Yarborough, stalwart of the Liberal wing. Even though Kilgore's candidacy had the backing of Gov. Connally and former Gov. Alan Shivers, both of whom were good friends of LBJ before he went national, the story has it that Kilgore got word direct from the White House to this effect: Opposition to Yarborough is opposition to LBJ himself. Kilgore withdrew.

◆ The "favorite son strategy," which the Eastern GOP king-makers have been relying on to frustrate Goldwater, doesn't always function according to plan. Gov. James Rhodes is said to have come to amicable terms with the Goldwater forces over his role as Ohio's favorite son and delegation leader. Though Scranton is billed as the colossus of Pennsylvania, the local Goldwater movement is vigorous; last month the Liberal *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* reported that at the closed-TV national GOP fundraiser "Goldwater won the contest here, receiving a standing ovation when his turn came to speak to the TV audience. His reception far surpassed that of Rockefeller and even topped Scranton's reception, which was warm." And an effort to install former Rep. Walter Judd, much admired by conservatives as well as by many Liberals, as favorite son in Minnesota stalled in starting. Goldwater, though long a friend of Dr. Judd, announced that, opposed or unopposed, he will enter the Minnesota primary.

◆ One factor in the question of Goldwater's nomination is the decision the GOP professionals will make about their goals for November. If they concentrate on the Presidency, they may convince themselves once more that "principle" must be avoided and a candidate picked from the perennial middle of the road. If their first objective is to make the best possible showing in all the other races, they are overwhelmingly agreed that Goldwater at the head of the ticket would do the most for the GOP in congressional and state tickets.

◆ The whirlwind courtship of ADA panjandrum Joseph L. Rauh Jr. by Lyndon Johnson has started to pay big dividends. Johnson offered Rauh a seat on the Presidential plane to New York for Herbert Lehman's funeral just a few days after his inauguration; since then, he has asked Rauh repeatedly to the White House and listened to him and his confreres on civil rights. Result: the ADA, which four years ago pointedly endorsed only the top half of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, is now telling the boys that it's okay to go all the way with LBJ.

Now you can know the reason why your decks were cleared of all the obsolete junk—those missile launchers, guns and torpedoes, which we all know have no more place in a world advancing under the UN banner. Break the seals and lift those covers! Every hogshead you see, and every bottle that has replaced those useless shells and missile warheads, is filled with the very finest, Public Health Service-inspected H_2O—plus, it goes without saying, one part fluorine per million: the teeth in Gitmo haven't been forgotten by our plans division, you can be sure.

"Our Commander in Chief put it on the line: 'Fidel,' he declared in his straightforward way, 'Fidel, that was a mean thing to do and we don't like your nasty Cuban water anyway. Even if you turn the faucet back on, we won't touch a bit of it. We're going to use decent non-Communist American water from now on, so there.' That's the way it will be, men, and that's why we're here. We're going to see that not one Gitmo baby misses his morning bath, not one blade of Gitmo grass gets brown, not one whiskey has to be drunk neat unless a fellow likes it that way.

"So anchors aweigh and full speed ahead! To every

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crew member in every ship that doesn't spill a single drop, the Commander in Chief has authorized an immediate combat award of a double chocolate sundae *with whipped cream and a maraschino cherry!*"

Something Rotten

Yes, yes. Power bobbybakerizes, and absolute power bobbybakerizes absolutely. As long as there are governments there will be corruption grand and petty, and in that sense the exposure of it will always be something of a bore. It is in the nature of cheese to attract mice.

Who knows the point at which an aroma turns into a stench? The majesty of the White House is in itself a powerful deodorant, but not all-powerful. Now comes the news that the Administration has allowed a secret document to slither into the hands of a discredited journalist in order to impugn the veracity of a witness who had testified about mice and men in the White House. The Liberal mousekeepers hissed Otto Otepka out of office for cooperating with an authorized congressional investigation, but then Otepka was committing the unpardonable sin of protecting his country from subversive infiltration. Who has risen up to call for the resignation of everyone who had a hand in publishing the latest secrets?

Pierre Salinger at the White House denies everything, and no doubt it is his job to do so. But before this stench settles forever into the woodwork, President Johnson should seriously consider the idea that has been privately proposed by at least one member of the FCC: that in order to put gossip to rest, the record of the financial dealings of Mrs. Johnson's television stations, alleged beneficiaries of some of the bobbybaking, be made public. Surely public knowledge of their business deals would bring less risk to national security than release of government documents to Drew Pearson.

The Royal Road to Romance

In a week in which it seemed the entire aggrieved population of the world had taken to the streets, there to stage mass protests of one sort or another, from boycotting schools to butchering missionaries, the placid Dutch, too, were demonstrating like mad. Ten thousand of them turned out shouting and singing before the Soestdijk Palace and put a loverly dent in the royal car carrying a princess and her fiancé. That kind of thing, when it happens—and what with the obsolescence of Europe's constitutional monarchies it cannot happen often—is not thought to be of much moment in the affairs of the world. It was just the Populace Rejoicing, as it does in operettas, not remotely to be compared with the kind of explosion a few Ghanapanamaniacs can set off by ripping down the American flag. And what could be more irrelevant than the issue of royal succession, becoming ever more ghostly and indistinct, which so agitated the Dutch over the last few weeks?

Yet the Dutch were agitated. It was, for them, a Crisis, and one perhaps as profoundly upsetting as has been the contraction of Empire. The end of colonialism—that is politics, arousing political emotions. (It was the Papuans, not the Dutch, who demonstrated when Sukarno seized West New Guinea.) But a Spanish romance, a religious conversion—these cut to unfathomably dangerous depths where the ancient sentiment of *patria* still reverberates. And so the Queen consulted, hour after hour, with the Cabinet, and there were communiqués from the Dutch radio.

For most of the rest of us, for whom plain political emotions provide quite enough excitement, it *was* an extraordinary operetta, beautifully constructed for suspense (Act I, The Princess in Hiding; Act II, The Suitor Revealed; Act III, The Throne Renounced) and all of it resolved by St. Valentine's Day. But lest we think the Dutch too formal in their concern, or too frivolous in their affection, the Old World's gaiety, its insular gaiety, remains, and rebukes us. How sad that it is all none of our business.

Now You See It, Now . . .

By putting the House through its paces after it had slumbered for a year over the civil rights bill, Lyndon Johnson demonstrated that his fame as a legislative jockey is well deserved, and did not desert him when he moved up Pennsylvania Avenue a couple of miles. Every substantial amendment was beaten down in short order; the Southern opponents got nowhere (see *From Washington Straight*); the final vote—non-recorded—was a whopping 290 to 130. The bill now goes to the Senate in its uncompromised "extreme" form with provisions intact that, among so much else, open all "accommodations" of any size to everyone, authorize the Federal Govern-

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

BEHIND THE SCENES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE
by Frank O'Neil

THE COMMON MARKET: A DISSENTING OPINION
by Wilhelm Roepke

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ment to intervene in just about any civil rights case anywhere, and permit the President to cut off federal funds (but not suspend federal taxes) from any state that is deemed to be permitting racial discrimination.

Mr. Johnson's strategy seems clear. With the bill coming out of the House in this form, he has completed the record he will take to the Negroes and the white civil rights enthusiasts. Now the Senate opponents will begin their slow war of attrition. The bill may never be enacted—the negative outcome is surely possible when we keep in mind that a considerable majority of both Congress and the country are in truth against it. If it does get by the Senate, the extreme provisions are nearly certain to be much softened. Thus, on either alternative, Mr. Johnson will complete the second half of his record: for the South and the constitution-minded, who will be told that under the Administration's management nothing drastic happened.

A good deal like riding those Brahma bulls they raise down Texas way. And our Texan President aims to stay on till the whistle blows.

Better Luck Next Time, Fellows

Both writers and readers over at the *New Republic* have been in a fearful sweat trying to work out the best formula for explaining that the Right was *really* responsible, or at any rate just as responsible as the Left, for the assassination. TRB, *NR*'s (no relation) Washington correspondent, seemed to have it just about perfect. Discussing the radio programs of what he defined to be the broadcasting network of the crackpot *Right*, TRB remarked: "They are the kind of programs . . . that the brooding Oswalds of the left or right wing listen to and sometimes act on." Neat, isn't it?—that fair and equal balancing, like old blindfolded Lady Justice herself, with her balanced scale.

But there was a kind of lingering smell there that upset the nose of at least one of TRB's ardent readers ("I admire the column—it's the first thing I turn to—for the brevity of style, solidity of research and almost cynical honesty"). He, Dwight Macdonald that is, who appointed himself some while ago Resident Moralist to the Left ("The root," he decided, "is Man"), dispatched a gentle disclaimer: "The awkward thing for Liberals about Oswald was that he was a crackpot leftist—it now appears he *did* take an unsuccessful shot at General Taylor [*sic*: damned difficult for us moralists, keeping all these generals straight]. There may be 'brooding' Oswalds of the Right but so far they have not taken action, which, as an old-fashioned believer in the Bill of Rights, I think is the important thing. The only Oswald we have had was of the Left and I think there's enough to criticize in the broadcasting activities of Messrs. Hunt, Hargis, *et al.* without smearing them with the Dallas horror."

And after these measured phrases, right there in the letter column of the *New Republic*, Macdonald suddenly gave the show away, as he not seldom does, with all the sweet innocence of a small child letting his pants down in public: "I agree it was a great pity that the assassin turned out to be not a lunatic Birchite, as we all assumed in that first hour of shock, but a lunatic 'Marxist.'" Too bad, fellows, but you know how it is; some sorrows come to all of us here below.

ROCKEFELLER CAN'T WIN
HE'S A DEMOCRAT.
NIXON CAN'T WIN
A ME-TOO TWO-TIME LOSER.
ROMNEY CAN'T WIN
OUT OF TOUCH WITH REALITY.
SCRANTON CAN'T WIN
WHAT IS HE FOR?
LODGE CAN'T WIN
DO WE WANT THE U.S. TO BE ANOTHER VIET NAM?
MRS. SMITH CAN'T WIN
50% OF HER VOTING RECORD 100% WRONG.
STASSEN CAN'T WIN
WE NEED HIM FOR COMIC RELIEF.
— COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE G.O.P. CANDIDATE
GOLDWATER CAN'T WIN

"Did you ever read such a brazen, presumptuous, oversimplified, outrageous, unfair, unjustified, underhanded, scurvy, Machiavellian, nefarious and poisonous affront to your intelligence?"

British Exports Booming

Chrzaszcz brzmi w trzcinie, an especially noisy Polish tongue-twister runs,—"the beetles screech in the bullrushes." And what all the screeching is about these days is, indeed, The Beatles. Any teenage girl would know and maybe you do that The Beatles are presently very much the reigning royalty of International Rock-'n-Roll; that The Beatles are a quartet of young men who sing, play the guitar (save for Ringo, who plays the drums and grins), wiggle, and breed hair prodigiously and make $10,000 a week not counting sale of Beatle records, pajamas, sweatshirts, wigs and, for all we know, automobiles; that they are from England; and that they are here; and that teenagers here as in their homeland go stark, raving mad as soon as a Beatle is sighted.

Theodore Strongin remarks in the *New York Times* that "their harmony is unmistakably diatonic.

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A learned British colleague, writing on his home ground, has described it as pandiatonic, but I disagree. The Beatles have a tendency to build phrases around unresolved leading tones. This precipitates the ear into a false modal frame that temporarily turns the fifth of the scale into the tonic, momentarily suggesting the Mixolydian mode. But everything always ends as plain diatonic all the same." However, Mr. Strongin concedes that "the age of 15 (or 16 or 14 or 13) is essential in a Beatle expert," so he may be missing something.

Although the manager of New York's Plaza Hotel, contemplating The Beatles under his roof, seriously thought of trading them to the Waldorf for Nikita Khrushchev, The Beatles are, in fact, affable, intelligent and the only youngsters around who don't take The Beatles seriously; we wish them fat bullrushes.

On the Right

The Strength of President Johnson

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

I have word from a shrewd son of a former congressman from Oklahoma that if Mr. Kennedy had lived, and fought in November against Mr. Goldwater, he'd have lost to him there by 2-1. But if the election were held tomorrow, he writes, and it were Johnson against Goldwater, Goldwater would lose, "by almost 2-1." Statistics from elsewhere are not by any means so drastically reversed. But there is no longer any observer, anywhere, who thinks that Johnson will be a weaker candidate than Kennedy.

Buckley

How little thought has been given to this datum, that after only three months as President, Johnson is more popular, far more popular, than the great Kennedy was after three years. It is important to distinguish. Johnson is more popular with more people, but he certainly is not idolized by anywhere nearly as many people as idolized Kennedy—for Kennedy was mythogenic, Johnson is not. Still one wonders, why Mr. Johnson's much broader, if less intense, appeal?

There is a sense in which Lyndon Johnson is a "better" President than Kennedy, even though Kennedy was a more satisfying President than Johnson. Johnson hasn't, actually, accomplished very much of significance. The rodomontade about economy is a joke, if one examines the figures, but ostentatiously to turn out the electric lights at the White House every time he walks out the door is a widely appealing act of economic husbandry, probably tradeable against a billion dollars' extra deficit. The legislation that has passed under Johnson probably would have slid on through under Mr. Kennedy. In foreign policy Mr. Johnson has accomplished absolutely nothing, in fact his paralysis seems almost to rival that of his predecessor.

But Mr. Johnson generates an air of competence. This is to some extent a physical accomplishment. He sees so many people so often for such long stretches, beginning so early in the day and ending so late, that as an individual he has a direct impact on probably more individual human beings than any President who came before him. And the news of all these meetings, all this activity, is quickly broadcast, and somehow the impression goes abroad that there is a dynamo in office. And since there have been no dire national reversals, the image settles down of a human flywheel, who acts for us all as a great national regulator, keeping things humming, keeping us out of adventure, or risk; which, in the unsteady state of our feelings after the wrench of last November, we are not quite in the mood for now, not yet. In that sense Johnson's popularity is attributable to the fact that Kennedy was assassinated.

Kennedy, as I said, was clearly the more satisfying President, in that he bestrode the stage in a manner in which Johnson is clearly not capable of doing, lacking the natural theatrical gait, and the glamorous horseflesh. But Kennedy, for all that, might well have been headed for defeat in November, because too many Americans felt he was all style, and no meat and potatoes. This they do not feel about Johnson. He has kept the French chef for show in the White House, but he brought along the old family cook, and she's the one who turns out the dishes that are the favorites of the Johnson family—and of a good many million other families also. The LBJ Ranch reads like lots more fun, for most citizens, than the Palm Beach villa or the Hyannis Port compound. Pablo Casals and a Jerome Robbins ballet were good for applause from the long-hairs, but more voters feel at ease thumping along with a rousing hootenanny.

What is more, Johnson's personality is not of the kind that demands lionization, any more than the omnipresent president of the local Elks does; and for this too, many people are glad. For one thing it spares them the sense of profanation, that someone should so soon be occupying the dead hero's bed. For another, it spares them the necessity of a fresh emotional commitment, after the emotionally exhausting ones they so recently endured.

These are some of the factors that account, I think, for the extraordinary political strength of Lyndon Johnson at this moment. If the world would sit still for him, I do not doubt he would win triumphantly in November. But the world has ways of its own, and not even Mr. Johnson can invite it in for a midnight snack at the White House, and succeed in calming it down.

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From WASHINGTON Straight

From the House with Love

►Many observers were shocked at the ease with which the controversial civil rights bill passed the House. They needn't have been. It was a sham battle.

For a complex of reasons, Northern Republicans withdrew from their uneasy coalition with Southern Democrats. Some believed that *some* civil rights legislation was imperative, and settled for this bill as the only viable legislation. Some were unconcerned —many Northern states have enacted more stringent rights measures than those in the present bill—and gave way easily before the pressure groups. The AFL-CIO and the activist Negro groups kept round-the-clock tallies on the non-record votes to be sure nobody strayed off the reservation. Some, still vindictive over Southern capitulation on the tax bill last September, were settling political scores.

The floor debate was effectively, at times brilliantly managed by the civil rights coalition, no doubt about it. Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee which drew the bill, led the debate, pressing home points of order in blunt Brooklynese. He punctured one finely-wrought legal argument by noting that a Negro had been denied the right to vote because he had underlined rather than circled his name.

Rep. Carl Albert, the Majority Leader, served as sergeant-at-arms. Burrowing up and down the aisles, his short arms patting and waving, he produced the votes to defeat every hostile amendment in the wearing nine-day debate. William McCulloch, John Lindsay and, finally, Charles Halleck (of Ohio, New York and Indiana) exuded bipartisanship from the Republican side of the aisle. At the end, a hard core of ninety Southerners, led by Reps. Howard Smith, Edwin Willis and a bright newcomer, Basil Whitener of North Carolina, were talking for the folks back home.

But the triumph was illusory. Civil rights bills have passed the House for years. Most of them die in Senator James Eastland's Judiciary Committee. Not this one. The House bill will be "met at the door" of the Senate, a rarely-used parliamentary procedure which places the bill directly on the calendar without reference to committee. The motion to call the bill to consideration on the Senate floor is, however, debatable. The Southern team, eighteen first-stringers, will start talking. Debate can be shut off by the vote of 67 senators, but these votes have never been produced in a civil rights debate.

Richard Russell of Georgia will lead the fight against the bill. And he has in reserve the Senate's two finest constitutional lawyers: Sam Ervin and James Stennis. Some civil rights bill will pass the Senate. But Title II and Title VII (Public Accommodations and FEPC), and possibly the provision which grants the President power to cut federal funds to local projects practicing discrimination, will be weakened.

Rights sí, Prayer no

►Since the Supreme Court ruling of last June, more than a hundred resolutions pertaining to school prayer and Bible reading have been introduced into the House. All of them seemed destined to wait in Congressman Celler's Judiciary Committee until the end of the 88th Congress, at which time they would be laid to rest.

One of these resolutions, however, has been attracting wide attention. Drafted by Rep. Frank Becker (R., N.Y.) and a panel of constitutional lawyers, House Joint Resolution 693 would amend the Constitution to permit prayer and Bible reading in public schools on a voluntary basis and block litigation now before the courts to expunge "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag and to remove "In God We Trust" from all U.S. Mint issue. Becker has drawn Discharge Petition #3, which, if signed by a simple majority of the House, will bring HR 693 to the House floor. As of now, Becker has 134 of the required 218 signatures.

Under mounting pressure, Celler finally has agreed to hold hearings "on the subject," which may derail the discharge movement. This promise could easily consume the short second session. Should the resolution be reported out of committee, which now appears unlikely, action in both Houses, of course, would be necessary before submission to the states. This being so, Becker hopes people everywhere will prod their reluctant representatives to sign Discharge Petition #3.

AuH_20

►The Goldwater for President Committee, headquartered in Washington, is working itself into fighting trim. The Committee is flooding press galleries with detailed itineraries of the Senator's movements. The radio-TV networks, the major wire services, and some of the larger newspapers have assigned reporters to daily coverage of the Senator. Press buses, mobile telephone and telegraph facilities and working press rooms are now available.

One-Man FBI

►Senator John J. Williams (R., Del.), upon whom hang the chances of the Republican Party in Delaware, has been telling anyone who asks, including his office staff, that he will not seek re-election to a fourth term this fall. Williams is one of the most respected and effective advocates of honest, efficient government in Washington. He uncovered the tax scandals of the Truman Administration, the bookkeeping irregularities of the Commodity Credit Corporation, and quietly produced this season's Capitol hit, the Bobby Baker hearings before the Senate Rules Committee. A move is under way to get the Senator to shelve his retirement plans and continue as the "one-man FBI" for good of party and country.

CATO

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Answers for Conservatives

Not everyone who supports Senator Goldwater's candidacy will, in the days to come, be hauled up before a television camera and asked to explain, in a minute or less, the Conservative position on a number of subjects. But for those who will, and for others who will be questioned by friends and neighbors, here is a set of brief answers to get the discussion started.

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

► *Senator Goldwater said in 1960 that Senator Johnson shouldn't run at one and the same time a) for re-election as senator from Texas, and b) for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. Isn't he now preparing to do just about the same thing himself?*

Answer. In the first place, Goldwater was wrong in 1960. There is no reason based on the Constitution or on sound practice (including the practice of most Western parliamentary nations) why someone should not run simultaneously for the Presidential and congressional offices, on the understanding that he will yield the latter if elected to the former. In the second place, Goldwater has in fact announced, on a recent national television program, that in the event he is nominated by the Republicans for the Presidency he will withdraw from the senatorial race.

► *Senator Goldwater has come out for withdrawing diplomatic recognition from the Soviet Union under certain circumstances. Wouldn't this increase the danger of war?*

Answer. No. There is no correlation between formal diplomatic relations, and peaceful relations. Just as often as not, in recent history, nations have gone to war on each other directly from a state of full diplomatic recognition. Senator Goldwater advocates using the sanction of recognition to influence the Soviet Union to make substantive concessions, *e.g.*, bring the Berlin Wall down, free Cuba. Inasmuch as it is United States policy not to resist Communist revolutionary practices by military means, except when absolutely necessary, it follows that we must make all the more use of other means, psychological, economic—and diplomatic. Bear in mind that the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition doesn't mean you can't continue to discuss problems with officials of the boycotted power—in the UN, through intermediaries, or even directly. We have done this often, with Cuba, Red China, Dominican Republic, Panama, etc.

► *But doesn't Goldwater favor withdrawing from the United Nations?*

Answer. Under certain circumstances. Our loyalty is to certain of the ideals (peace, freedom) of the United Nations, not to the United Nations itself; and if the United Nations should cease to serve those ideals, then our loyalty to the UN is quite properly repealed. Given the strategic realities, UN acceptance of Red China would formally mark the General Assembly's submission to the Communist and neutralist wing, whose usurpation of the UN would commit it to following policies that would dampen the hope of freedom, and the prospects of peace, all over the world. It would be better in that case for us to withdraw than to preserve the fiction that we will submit matters affecting the destiny of the West to a parliamentary majority hostile to the aims of the UN Charter. As a matter of political fact, if we threatened to withdraw over the issue, the UN would never admit Communist China.

► *What do you believe Senator Goldwater's policy towards the UN would be?*

Answer. The UN, to be useful, must improve, rather than diminish, the chances of the West to preserve peace and freedom. Otherwise it becomes an obstacle to the realization of our goals. As presently constituted the UN is gravely deficient, primarily because the General Assembly, in which every nation no matter how small or uncivilized has an equal vote, has evolved into the dominant voice of the UN. The recent tragic events in East Africa, the Congo and Rwanda prove how unrealistic it is to treat these aspiring but undeveloped lands, in which a pitifully small educated minority tries to keep afloat in the midst of primitive tribal masses, as if they were political entities of the same order as France, Russia and the United States. The United States has the principal responsibility for the freedom of the Western world, and cannot relinquish it to any majority of nations and pseudo-nations. Under the circumstances, the U.S. should, while continuing to participate in the discussion of the General Assembly, boycott all voting on matters of substance—to signify that we will not consider ourselves bound or even guided by a nominal Assembly majority where our essential interests are at stake.

► *How does Senator Goldwater stand on NATO? Wouldn't his victory in the election mean an isolationist break with our allies?*

Answer. Goldwater favors the closest relations with our Western allies and full support of NATO. He strongly criticizes U.S. foreign policy in recent years for neglecting NATO and sacrificing the interests of our allies to the neutralists, the UN and the alleged claims of "decolonization." He favors sharing some of our nuclear weapons with our major allies. He does not agree with the sentimental view that "the UN is the best hope for peace." As he wrote in *Life* (Jan. 17): "[for winning a workable peace] I view the NATO alliance—the Atlantic community—as a far more practical tool than the UN."

► *Why did Senator Goldwater vote against the test ban treaty?*

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Answer. Because he found it misleading, dangerous and silly. 1) Misleading, because it encouraged us to believe that an unenforceable promise from the Soviet Union is worth concrete concessions by us. The treaty commits the United States to refrain from certain activities we would otherwise be undertaking in the interest of our national security but provides no method for us to verify whether the Soviet Union is imposing comparable restrictions on its own activities in return. It is wrong, in the light of experience, to make commitments based on Soviet promises, or to encourage the body politic to put faith in Soviet promises. And 2) dangerous, because we do not know, and cannot without additional testing, just what it was the Russians discovered during their mammoth test series in 1962; or what are the effects of what they discovered on our defense system; and even how our own late model warheads would operate in practice. And 3) silly, because the treaty as it stands even prohibits us from such wholly non-military uses of nuclear explosions as would be involved in a replacement for the Panama Canal.

► *What would Senator Goldwater do about Cuba?*

Answer. He is on record as advocating the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine in Cuba (and elsewhere), by whatever are the most appropriate means. Primarily he has stressed the advisability of a strict blockade of Cuba and massive help to exile and underground liberation forces. Whether this would be sufficient, one cannot really know for sure in advance. We must be prepared to fight, in the end, if necessary in Cuba, as we have in Vietnam, to eliminate the Communists' beachhead in the Western Hemisphere. That is the opinion even of ex-President Betancourt of Venezuela, a left-socialist and an early friend of Castro, who now recognizes the impossibility of progress and stability in Latin America so long as the Communists control a Latin American nation, and use it as a base for the export of revolution.

► *What should we do about Panama?*

Answer. Inform the Panamanian Government that while we are always prepared to discuss practical arrangements, the Canal is ours by right of treaty and historical circumstance; and properly ours in virtue of our pre-eminent world responsibilities to guard the great strategic passes in the free world; that our permitting the Panamanians in 1959, and 1962, to hoist their flag was merely a courtesy which, if now it is to be misconstrued as implying unrestricted Panamanian sovereignty, will be withdrawn; and that payments and grants to the Panamanian Government will be impounded pending the restoration of order and proper indemnification for damage done to American personnel and property.

Waite—London Daily Sketch

"I'd like elections better if they stayed off politics."

► *Does Senator Goldwater propose to give field commanders the right to order the use of nuclear weapons on their own initiative?*

Answer. Neither Goldwater nor anyone else proposes that anyone except the President as Commander in Chief (or the next in line if the President is put out of action) shall have the power "to push the red button"—*i.e.,* order a strategic nuclear strike against the Communist home base. But Goldwater contends that we should reject the prevailing taboo against all use of low yield tactical nuclear weapons. In particular, the Supreme Commander of NATO, or our top commander in the Pacific theater, should have the right to authorize the use of tactical nuclear weapons by his units if he judges this required by local combat conditions.

► *What does Senator Goldwater mean when he calls for "victory" over the Soviet Union?*

Answer. He means he desires victory for the West in the sense of frustrating the Soviets' declared ambition "to bury us." He put it this way in the *Life* article: "The major objective of U.S. foreign policy should be the reduction of Communist power to a level from which it cannot threaten the security of our nation or the peace of the world."

► *Is Senator Goldwater in favor of liberating the satellite nations?*

Answer. He is in favor of their ultimate liberation and accordingly opposed to any diplomatic ratification of their enslavement. It is not likely, however, that we can effect their liberation in the immediate future. Nevertheless, we should mount and maintain pressures of all types, on and within the Communist empire, so as to induce new weaknesses, and aggravate old ones, to a degree that may cause Russia, in return for carefully calculated concessions, to relax her grip on her satellites, and let them take independent life again. The United States should introduce the subject of the captive nations into every discussion of colonialism in the UN, and demand that it be placed on the agenda before there is any further talk about "decolonization" elsewhere.

► *Is it true that we are behind the Soviet Union in intercontinental range missiles (ICBMs)?*

Answer. Certainly not. The only persons who ever made such a claim were the Democratic Party's spokesmen, who invented the non-existent "missile gap" for campaign purposes in 1960. Our ICBMs are probably better than Soviet missiles, and we have many more of them operational. But our missiles have not been tested under combat conditions, and we cannot rely on them to give adequate performance under all conditions. Therefore, as most of our highest military men believe, our security requires for the foreseeable future a "mixed force" of manned strategic aircraft along with missiles. But the policy of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration is to phase out the aircraft. No strategic bomber to replace the B-52s—which will be obsolescent in a few years—is on the way.

► *What are the views of Senator Goldwater on the John Birch Society?*

Answer. Goldwater distinguishes between the views of the leader of the Society, Mr. Robert Welch, and those of the majority of its members. As regards the former, he has time and again renounced them, and has even called for the resignation of Welch as leader of the Society. As regards the latter, though he differs on some important points he refuses to dis-

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avow them categorically, for the very reason that he agrees with many of them. He is not himself a member of the Society, and would not join any organization whose leader clung to such unreasoned positions.

► *What are the Senator's views on the problem of poverty?*

Answer. 1) That poverty exists, though it is better defined, in relative historical circumstances, as squalor. 2) That some of those who are poor are poor because from one motive or another they are disinclined to work, and that these ought to be more carefully distinguished from those others whose hardships result from external and involuntary causes: and that means be found to induce the former to work. And 3) that the needs of those who wish to work but cannot should be looked after, if at all possible, by local communities; failing which the individual states should assume the responsibility for their welfare; and only if the states as well as local communities demonstrably cannot function should they turn to the Federal Government.

► *What can the Federal Government do about unemployment?*

Answer. 1) Eliminate labor union monopolies, which have the effect of denying employment to non-members, distorting wage and price levels, hampering efficiency in operations, and so increasing the costs of production. Both employment discrimination and high costs cause unemployment. 2) Avoid inflexible nationwide wage policies. They lower rather than increase the real income of the workers as a whole; and have the effect of inactivating, and discouraging, potential employers, and so spreading unemployment. And 3) moderate the punitive graduated feature of the income tax.

► *Moderate the graduated income tax? How do you justify that?*

Answer. On various grounds. 1) Economically: because the punitive income tax siphons to the government money a great deal of which would otherwise be available for productive investment to increase the nation's capital plant, and so increase employment. The loss to the government in tax revenue even if the graduated feature of the income tax were abolished would be less than the reduction provided in the Kennedy-Johnson tax bill. It may be added that none of the countries that have had the most spectacular economic growth rates during this postwar period—*e.g.*, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium—has a steeply graduated income tax. 2) Socially: because a society that values initiative and mobility should not make it difficult for individuals to rise up the financial ladder. 3) Philosophically: because graduated income tax is in reality class legislation, and under the rule of law, individuals should be treated equally irrespective of class, color, creed, or income.

► *What could Senator Goldwater do to strengthen the dollar and slow down the adverse flow of gold?*

Answer. 1) Cut down on unnecessary and wasteful foreign aid. 2) Work towards bilateral treaties instituting flexible exchange rates. 3) Take some of the load of bureaucratic paper and controls off the neck of business and the taxpayers. 4) Encourage internal reforms to promote efficiency and modernization, and decrease the cost of doing business, thus increasing our competitive advantages in bidding for foreign trade. For instance: reduce and simplify taxes, break up union and business monopolies, eliminate minimum wage laws, stop subsidizing uneconomic fields with no bearing on national security.

► *What are Senator Goldwater's views on foreign aid?*

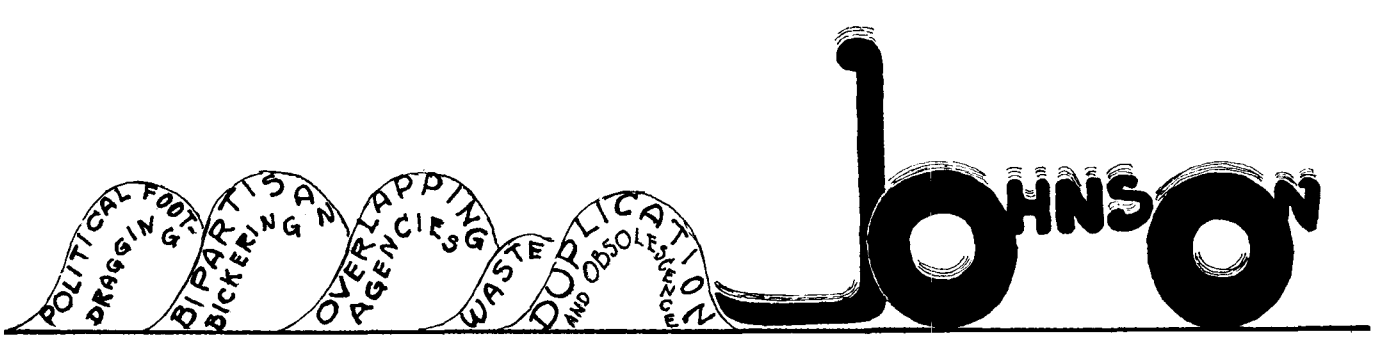
Answer. That foreign aid should not go to those nations whose policies are consistently unfriendly to our own, and that aid to friendly nations should as a general rule be limited to military and technical aid in the Western defense effort against Communist aggression. Aid for other purposes—economic and humanitarian—is best supplied through the activities of private individuals, foundations and corporations engaged in business or philanthropic activity abroad.

► *Why did Senator Goldwater propose selling the TVA?*

Answer. He didn't come out for "selling TVA" in the sense of calling for the sale to the public of the TVA's flood control and navigational activities. He called merely for selling those parts of TVA that are engaged in commercial activities, like its huge coal-fired power plants, that are unrelated to its public functions. TVA can underbid local competition, both as purchaser and supplier, because it is exempt from normal taxation and from many forms of debt servicing. The net effect is a continuing subsidy, by the many, for the privileged few. The sale of certain of the TVA's facilities would end the economic imbalance, and would show a net economic gain to the nation as these enterprises shifted to efficient, non-bureaucratic operation by taxpaying corporations.

► *How does Senator Goldwater justify his vote for federal funds to irrigate Arizona, considering his opposition to practices that tax the many for the benefit of the few?*

Answer. No vote has come up. Senators Goldwater and Hayden have co-sponsored a bill for the federal Central Arizona Project, to deliver 2.8 million acre-feet of Colorado River water into Arizona, as decreed by the Supreme Court, for irrigational, municipal, and industrial use,



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but no new land would be brought into cultivation. Arizona has no other source of supplemental water. Goldwater has also suggested that the state handle the project; financiers have said it would be feasible. CAP is a reclamation project urgently needed. TVA, in contrast, is a power and fertilizer producer with an extremely minor role in reclamation or navigation.

► *Does Senator Goldwater believe in equal rights for all persons irrespective of race?*

Answer. His own record, on both a state and national level, demonstrates his devotion to this ideal. But he does not believe that any time Congress feels like it, it can create fresh rights. There is no "right," in the statute books, or under the Constitution, or in common law, to some of those things which are now being proposed as "rights."

► *Why does Senator Goldwater oppose the Civil Rights Bill pending in Congress?*

Answer. Because parts of it are unconstitutional as well as imprudent and philosophically unsound, particularly the section that seeks to make it a *legal* offense for an individual, in the conduct of his own affairs, to decide for himself the persons with whom he chooses to do business, irrespective of race, color, or creed. In a free society the right to the use of private property should not be restricted except to prevent injuring the rights of others, or when the common-law concept of the public utility can be invoked; and neither of these conditions applies to occasions of doing business when alternative commercial facilities are or can be made available.

► *Would you cite one good reason why a Negro would vote for Senator Goldwater?*

Answer. 1) Negro Americans are primarily American citizens, secondly members of a minority group. If Senator Goldwater will serve America in the struggle for a free and decent nation in a free and peaceable world, he will inevitably serve the Negro Americans. 2) As regards their own special interests, wise Negroes would vote for Goldwater because as members of a minority group, they are inevitably at the mercy of the majority, with whom at all costs they must avoid a head-on race struggle. What the Negroes stand most to fear is a raw power contest with the white community—of the kind towards which, for instance, some of our Northern cities are at this moment reeling. By acknowledging realities; by promoting organic growth; by opposing legislative impetuosity and arbitrary judicial shortcuts; by providing effective moral leadership, and encouraging effective legislative reform and economic pressure; by effective measures against unemployment and restrictive union practices; by freeing the economy to expand dynamically and thus offer new jobs, the Negro can rise in our society faster, and more surely, than by the tokenist advances that harden the deplorable antagonism between the races.

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► *Do you believe that property rights are above human rights?*

Answer. There is no distinction between the two classes of rights. What are property rights, if not human rights?—Animal rights? Vegetable rights? All rights flow from the right of freedom. All rights are susceptible of abuse—including the right of free speech. So also can the rights of private property be abused; but the concept must not, on that account, be impeached. We should not forget that the society in which no property rights are secure is the totalitarian society.

► *If the Supreme Court ruled that a community's schools had to be integrated under the law, would President Goldwater use troops to effect the Court's orders when necessary?*

Answer. He has said he would, if all other means failed. But he has also said that coercive integration is not likely to succeed in its stated purposes, and that the army as the symbol of the Integrator inevitably sets back rather than advances the social progress of the Negroes as well as good relations between the races.

► *Does Senator Goldwater want to liquidate Social Security?*

Answer. From an ideal point of view, Goldwater, like most other persons who put freedom first, objects to handling social security through a totally centralized and compulsory system. However, since the present system exists, the practical problem is to administer it efficiently, to restrain its tendency to swallow up all private, local and state functions, and to insert into it a voluntary element —perhaps along the lines of the voluntary plan now covering professionals, farmers and small businessmen— that would permit individual citizens to work out their own security problems outside the federal system if they chose to do so.

► *How about Medicare?*

Answer. The United States has the best Medicare in the world—achieved through a system based primarily on private medical practice, free choice of doctors and voluntary insurance, supplemented by local and state welfare and private charity to provide for special need. The brightest future for the adequate medical care of young and old alike is further development and improvement along these tested lines—including the voluntary insurance, industrial and cooperative plans that have expanded to cover most of the population—rather than through compulsory, centralized, bureaucratic schemes that lead inevitably toward socialized medicine and the deterioration of actual medical care.

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The Third World War

Put Up or Shut Up

JAMES BURNHAM

De Gaulle's theory and practice of international politics ("Grand Strategy" is the appropriate term in his case) are based on the following conceptions: 1) the primary counters of the game are nations with deeply ingrained traits that change very slowly, if at all; 2) as a corollary, "ideologies" (Communism, fascism, Liberalism, etc.) are secondary and superficial; 3) the rules of the game are Machiavellian: significant moves express changing relations of power and interest, not ideological or moralistic abstractions about "justice," "freedom," "peace" or what not; 4) the French nation embodies more fully than any and all others the meaning of Western, Christian civilization; 5) de Gaulle is the concentrated embodiment of France, so that France, therefore the West, speaks most authentically by his voice; 6) on fundamental issues, de Gaulle's decision is correct—or at any rate, since defeat is possible and the end may be tragic, the best the circumstances permit.

De Gaulle, almost alone among contemporary Western statesmen, does habitually think in terms of the highest level of Grand Strategic ideas. Though he can be shrewd about techniques and practical details, his mind never bogs down in such day-to-day adjustments and compromises as preoccupy our new President. De Gaulle sees not so much the forest as the entire terrain of which even the forest is only one feature; the continental waves, the alternations in the ultimate lines of force that control the slow shift in the global equilibrium.

De Gaulle declared, several years ago, that the policy alternatives for Europe were "a Directory (*Directoire*), a European Europe, or the rearrangement (*renversement*) of alliances." "Directory" meant a U. S.-British-French troika to run NATO and the Western alliance. This implied that the U. S. would help France become a nuclear power, would share with both France and Britain command over the use of nuclear weapons, and would operate as their partner in such global business as decolonization, UN, etc. France in effect proposed the Directory; the U.S. rejected it.

Whys and Wherefores

Some reasons for American rejection were undoubtedly faulty; but others were substantial enough, and these de Gaulle chooses to overlook or forget. France, after all, was a nation that had been whipped flat by the Reichswehr—rather, had collapsed ignominiously under attack. Serious strategists knew that it was not de Gaulle's propagandistically inflated Free French partisans but Eisenhower's army, specifically his American divisions, that had smashed the Nazis—and installed de Gaulle in Paris. France has been thrown out of Indochina and Algeria. As a by-product of the Algerian retreat, de Gaulle had decimated the best of France's officer corps. France's continuing existence, as well as de Gaulle's own freedom to maneuver, depended on American nuclear power. The spiritual corruption of France's internal life was sufficiently attested by the fact that 25 per cent of her population accepted Communist leadership. De Gaulle himself had brought Communists into his postwar government, and had done nothing effective at any time to block their infiltration of every stratum of French life. Was it prudent to share nuclear weapons and secrets with a nation that for years had kept a Communist Party member—Frédéric Joliot-Curie—as head of its atomic commission? Washington was not altogether arbitrary in wondering whether France, on the record, was ready for a senior partnership.

The Peking Turn

So, whoever's to blame, the Directory was out for the next phase, and de Gaulle turned toward the remaining two alternatives. No one knows exactly what a "European Europe" is, except that it excludes "Anglo-Saxon" influence, and potentially embraces Russia (the term "Soviet Union" is absent from the Gaullist vocabulary) "to the Urals." By preventing British membership in the Common Market and virtually withdrawing from NATO, de Gaulle kept European Europe pure, but found that "convergence" between Washington and Moscow was blocking the path to the Urals. He moved forthwith, therefore, to alternative three —"the rearrangement of alliances."

One essential premise of the Peking Turn is de Gaulle's conviction that the U. S. is going to lose the war in South Vietnam, and thereby its position in Southeast Asia generally. De Gaulle believes a) that the war could be won, if at all, only by extending the theater to North Vietnam and southern China, and b) that the U. S. will not extend it. He is certainly correct on the first point, and almost certainly correct on the second. The withdrawal of the U. S. will leave China the dominant power of the region. Therefore—and de Gaulle is a man who completes his syllogisms—one must see what kind of deal can be made with China by political means, using China's enormous economic needs and her conflict with Russia as levers.

For all his formal clarity, de Gaulle's strategy rests on illusions: that France can be a serious nuclear power; that China might yield at the bargaining table what has been won in the field; that Communism is unimportant. But the negative half of his reasoning about Southeast Asia is unassailable. It is true that the war in Vietnam, fought under the present strategic restrictions, is going to be lost. And if it is going to be lost anyway, why not pull out now and see what can be salvaged by diplomacy? —You can't end up any *worse* off.

De Gaulle is really saying to the U.S.: put up or shut up. If you can't or won't win the war, then move over and let someone else try his hand. By his truck and machinery contracts with Castro, de Gaulle issues the same challenge on Cuba: put up or shut up. The world can't sit still forever, waiting for Washington to make up its mind. If you intend to liquidate Castro, get going; if you can't or won't, move over.

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Sing Along With the Liberal Republicans

W. H. VON DREELE

Smiles

(Ike)

There are smiles that drive me batty;
  There are smiles that drive me nuts.
There are smiles that drive away the sunshine
  Like the %!#*! drive away my putts.
There are smiles for Mamie in the morning;
  There are smiles for passing in review.
But the smiles divorced from any meaning
  Are the smiles that I gave to you.

Margie

(Scranton)

I'm feeling drafty.
The only word for it is "drafty."
  Although I try to fight it,
Every time I open a door
I begin to sniffle, sneeze and snort and wheeze . . .
I'm drafty.
I'm getting constipation!
  But between us two:
Though a draft may bring a cold,
I'm determined to be sold—
  And be drafted, for you-o-o!

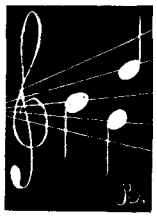
Stormy Weather

(Rocky)

Don't know why. Nothing scheduled for July
  Falls together.
I'm even plagued by the weather!
  (He's gaining all the ti-me.)
It ain't fair! Ain't it strictly my affair
  We're together?
(He could knock me off with a feather.)
  Why won't my rating cli-mb?
  He's gaining all the ti-me.

I Want a Girl

(Stassen)



I want to be
So terribly
  The U. S. President!
Though I'm a bore;
Though I've run before,
  It isn't pertinent.
I'll run in Oregon;
  I'll run in Mass.
Who needs the Pentagon
  With all my brass?
I want to be
Nationally
  A big embarrassment.

M-o-t-h-e-r

(Romney)

"M" is for the Mormons who ignore me;
  "O" is for the Others, who don't try.
"T" is for the Thousands who aren't for me;
  "H" is for the Hordes who pass me by.
"E" is for the Effort I've expended;
  "R's" the Rambler Romney kept afloat.
Put them all together, they spell Mother—
  But mother's only got one vote.

'Till We Meet Again

(Nixon)

Smile the while I ever said I'm "through";
Things look different on Fifth Avenue.
While I wait to move on cue,
  Try to keep the Press from snarling . . .
Wedding bells have rung so Happily.
(Rocky won't believe the refereel)
So pray he'll stay in Albany . . .
  I may run again!

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Letter from the Continent

De Gaulle Recognizes Peking

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

De Gaulle's recognition of Peking, initiating a more independent foreign policy, had a stunning effect in Europe. It was a gesture that chagrined many of his supporters and delighted some of his ardent critics. It left not a few perfectly confused. There is one school of thought over here which, in all likelihood, is not far from the truth in deploring this latest development and criticizing de Gaulle on moral grounds, however reserving most of the blame for the United States.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

De Gaulle, of course, fits badly into the general American picture of what a Frenchman is or ought to be. He is too tall, too sour; he might be vain, which really is rather French, but his arrogance is a trait usually accorded to Prussians and Britishers. Certainly the General is hardly popular in America, and most of his political actions have had an enigmatic character (a Frenchman, for instance, has "no business" liking Germans).

He has rarely gotten a truly sympathetic word from Washington, which has, in its foreign policy (rightly or wrongly), always put France into a decidedly lower category than Great Britain. Washington's almost perennial foreign policy—to square the circle by being at once idealistic and pragmatic—has never been understood in France either.

Thus the past misunderstandings and the tensions between the U.S. and France have occurred with a certain inevitability. The United States has pursued a basically anti-colonialist policy and France was (and still is) a colonial power. And the French, not pragmatists but Machiavellians, not idealists but metaphysicians, have looked at American foreign policy with a discomfort that has increased with their growing economic and military independence.

To make matters worse, American miscalculations collided with French interests, with French ambitions, French plans . . . and all this speeded the decline of the American nimbus, of the trust in American political sagacity, of the belief that America is not only materially, but also intellectually the natural leader of the West.

What the French see (and, of course, many Americans too) is a seemingly endless string of American miscalculations and errors in judgment in foreign policy—beginning with the admiration of Uncle Joe, the sellout in East Central Europe, the backing of the Chinese "agrarian reformers," the emasculation of Japan, and the leftist postwar policies toward Spain and Italy; to the support for Sukarno, Ben Bella and initially Castro, the torpedoing at Suez, the pressure on the Belgians in the Congo, the attitude towards Salazar, and the catastrophic fumbling (to put it mildly) in the various parts of Indochina.

Nature of East-West Conflict

Some of the French also reason, and General de Gaulle indeed does, that the whole American policy of coexistence has produced no positive results. We have to bear in mind that *le général* is a convinced anti-Communist, but a very specific sort. He despises Communism and takes it seriously only in a limited way. To him it is a low Oriental barbarism nurtured by the sickly ratiocinations of the nineteenth-century German mind. He flatly refuses (especially in Khrushchev's presence) to talk about the "Soviet Union." He only knows "Russia" and Russia, to him, belongs to Europe, which ends at the Urals. Yet Russia plus Bolshevism has encroached on large domains of Central Europe and de Gaulle's interest in Central Europe *is* pivotal to his basically "Continental" political calculations. His Chinese policy, as a matter of fact, is partly the result of his conviction that the war between East and West, having arrived at a military stalemate in the field of armaments right now, will become more and more a war of ideas, a war of wits, a war of infiltration, propaganda, subversion. West Europeans are far more convinced than Americans that the Free World *can* win in such an encounter. So is de Gaulle. He is, after, all, the man who significantly called his first book *La discorde chez l'ennemi;* it deals with the collapse of the Central Powers and the end of World War I as a result of insidious Allied propaganda, not of military action. (Another general who is similarly oriented is Francisco Franco. We may possibly see him this year receiving the first Red ambassador, an event which will greatly confuse some more Americans.)

At first glance it seems paradoxical that a man like de Gaulle, who believes that one fine day we may all have to defend Holy Mother Russia at the Urals (or on Lake Baikal), has initiated his independent foreign policy by recognizing Peking. Having considered the "soft wave" of American foreign policy a failure, since the Soviets have not yielded an inch in Central Europe, de Gaulle now returns to the old geopolitical principle, "The Neighbor of my Neighbor is my Friend." And at the same time he expects by this stratagem to re-enter more powerfully the Indochinese arena, where he considers the American record disastrous.

De Gaulle's rash step, which must be understood even if deplored (by this writer, for one), is indeed symbolic of the *impatience* so many Europeans feel with American leadership, or rather, the lack of it. In its dealings in the Orient, we ought not to forget, the United States never consulted France. Why should France then act differently? America also intervened in Africa where France had prior rights. Now that Red China is moving into Africa, France believes she has every right to a listening post in Peking.

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Low Life Above Stairs

The inside story of the Randolph Churchill-Iain Macleod exchange that may have hurt the Tories more than Mr. Harold Wilson and all of his men

COLM BROGAN

Randolph Churchill has been known as the *enfant terrible* of British politics ever since he was an *enfant*. He is not an *enfant* any longer, and quite a number of influential people think he is just *terrible*.

His latest misdemeanor has been to publish an account of the struggle for the succession to Harold Macmillan. This appears to have been largely, though not entirely, based on the confidences of Harold Macmillan himself, and these appear to have been lavish indeed. The essence of Randolph's case was that Macmillan had been determined from the start that Rab Butler should not succeed him. Butler, it was said, lacked the steel that a Prime Minister must have, but it is impossible not to suspect a strong element of personal dislike in Macmillan's hostility.

Whatever Macmillan's reasons for opposing Butler may have been, the publication of his views shocked the Conservative Party. However Conservative policies may change and veer, there is one overriding principle that governs the conduct of the party: "never in front of the children" (*i.e.*, the electorate). The struggle for the succession may be vicious enough, but once the issue is decided, it is taken for granted that the bruised and battered losers will warmly shake the hand of the winner and offer him all the cooperation and loyal service they can give. If they cannot bring themselves to do that for reasons of pique or principle, then they are fully expected to remain silent. However hard the feelings might be and however deep the wounds, the Party must come first.

Iain Macleod and Enoch Powell, the two former ministers who refused to serve under Sir Alec Douglas-Home, faithfully followed the grand tradition. They refused to give even their own constituents any reason why they had refused, and they suffered in the public estimation, a suffering that they bore with fortitude until Randolph's book appeared.

Then Iain Macleod hit back. Macleod had become editor of the *Spectator* shortly after leaving the government. It was a surprising appointment, and none was more surprised than the editor in charge, who first heard that he was to be supplanted from a newspaper columnist. He pursued the proprietor, Ian Gilmour, for damages and threw in a writ for libel as well.

The *Spectator* is one of the two important political weekly reviews in Britain. Under the famous St. Loe

Randolph Churchill

Strachey it was uncompromisingly Tory (which was to prove embarrassing to his son John Strachey who became a Socialist cabinet minister). Until the thirties it kept ahead of its young rival, the *New Statesman*, a dedicated Socialist organ whose title, it is said, was suggested by Arthur Balfour, a former Conservative Prime Minister. The pre-war swing to the Left put the *New Statesman* ahead in circulation, but for a long time the much greater purchasing power of *Spectator* readers made it a better commercial proposition. After the war, that advantage was lost. Reading the *New Statesman* became a must for all middle-class intellectuals. When Ian Gilmour bought the *Spectator*, its circulation was only half of the *New Statesman*'s and the position did not improve. The paper lost all sense of purpose. Politically, it was as near neutral as it is possible to get without ignoring politics altogether, and in other respects it was progressive enough to raise eyebrows in many a country vicarage where it had been required reading for generations.

The circulation lost on the vicarage roundabout may have been made up more or less on the Chelsea swings, but when Gilmour became a Conservative MP the *Spectator* became markedly more conservative, shedding some of its new readers without regaining any of the old. Something drastic had to be done, but nobody dreamt of anything so drastic as putting the recently resigned co-chairman of the Conservative Party and Leader of the House of Commons in the editor's chair, least of all without informing the editor who happened to be sitting in the chair. As a challenge to one of the most popular features of the *New Statesman*, Macleod managed to secure the services of a weekly commentator on the doings of the press. The commentator was Randolph Churchill. "Randolph is Randolph is Randolph," Macleod wrote in his own column. How right he was.

The publication of Randolph's calculated indiscretions relieved Macleod from his obligation of silence. He published a 4,000-word review of Randolph's little book, which was in fact his own *pièce justificatif*. The circulation of the *Spectator* doubled. The *Sunday Mirror* published the article in two successive numbers.

Many Conservatives believed, and still believe, that Macleod had scored a journalistic triumph at the cost of political suicide; he had been guilty of the grossest treachery. This charge

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is nonsense. If any man had been guilty of re-opening the Party's wounds that man was Macmillan, using Randolph as his instrument. Not only was Macleod entitled to issue a reply, but a reply was something that he owed to his own constituency once the former Prime Minister had given, by proxy, his own version of contentious events.

The Last to Know

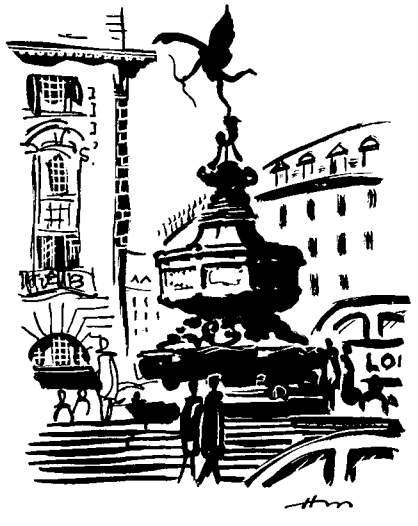
The more level-headed Conservatives did not doubt his right to state his own case, under acute provocation but they were surprised at his naiveté. He complained that both he and Maudling, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been kept in the dark about the maneuvers going on behind the scene. This is no doubt true. Both he and Maudling were contenders for the premiership and it was only natural that they should have been left out of private discussions and bargainings. On the other hand, Macleod is a politician with a reputation for ruthlessness and acute intelligence. I do not find Macleod an agreeable personality, but I have never suspected that he was such a bewildered innocent that he could not find out what was going on. If he was really so much in the dark as he now thinks he was, then he was obviously not fit to be Prime Minister. The same applies to Maudling.

Yet, even those who freely conceded Macleod's right to answer Randolph have faulted him severely on two counts. First, the *Spectator* sold full reproduction rights to the *Sunday Mirror*, which is a Socialist paper prepared to pay a large sum to reproduce what it obviously regarded as very damaging anti-Conservative propaganda. This was regarded as trading with the enemy. Secondly, he gave a weapon to Harold Wilson. Eton is Wilson's King Charles's Head. He thumps away with dreary reiteration on the theme that the influence of Eton on British life is grotesquely disproportionate. This is true enough, but it is not the greatest of our national ills, and the man who keeps on and on about it is in danger of being regarded as a bore with an inferiority complex. Macleod underwrote what Wilson has said so often. He said that of the eight men who arranged the succession behind the scenes, seven were Old Etonians. Unfortunately for Macleod, the man he cast as the chief villain of the piece was Martin Redmayne, the Chief Whip who is most emphatically not an Etonian.

In any event he miscalculated the mood within the Party. A considerable number of Conservative MPs have an unpretentious grammar school background, and these men resent not only the dominance of Eton, but the dominance of the public schools in general. They have not forgotten that Macleod himself went to the Scottish public school, Fettes, which enjoyed, in his day, a well deserved reputation for scholarship and toughness. They have noted that when Macleod of Fettes quit the leadership of the House, he was followed by Selwyn Lloyd—also of Fettes. Not a bad double for a medium-sized Scottish public school. Macleod's anti-Etonian feelings seemed not altogether appropriate.

Like a Socialist Cad

Randolph replied with predictable vigor. He disclosed a private conversation he had with Macleod in which Macleod expressed the hope that none of the front runners would



gain a commanding lead and that the Party would solve the impasse by calling on himself. In other words, Macleod did not merely want to be consulted. He wanted to be Prime Minister himself. It is a perfectly respectable ambition, but Randolph badly dented a cherished Conservative belief, which is that only Socialist cads retail private confidences.

The Socialist MPs had been rubbing their hands in anticipation of taking Sir Alec to the cleaners, when he had to answer questions in the House. Sir Alec's reply left them half stunned. He said that Macmillan had shown Randolph no confidential papers and, in fact, had told him nothing at all. A Labor member asked if this did not mean that Randolph had not been telling the truth. Had Macmillan not told Randolph of his advice to the Queen? The answer was no, and whatever conclusion Labor members cared to draw was a matter of total indifference to the Prime Minister. It struck me that if Randolph had really been told nothing, then Duke University should not only offer him a chair but should try to build a whole faculty round him, because his powers of extrasensory perception must verge on the miraculous.

Most Recent Installment

Before people could recover from the Prime Minister, Enoch Powell popped up. Like Macleod himself, Powell is a man whose ways are not particularly winning, but he has a reputation for glum righteousness and integrity. He told a Conference of National Liberals (*i.e.*, ex-Liberals who are now Conservatives) that the government's whole income and profits policy was a combination of humbug and nonsense. The fact that he might well be right did not make his statements any more palatable to the Conservatives who justly felt that the Opposition had been provided with quite enough ammunition already. Anyway, Powell had been a member of the government that had adopted the policy of humbug and nonsense. Why bring it up now? Why bring the charge with such pungency and relish?

Powell's intervention has been, on the day of writing, the last powerful installment in an enthralling serial, but one question remains. How did the Party come to throw away its most precious asset, which is the general belief (a national and not a party belief) that at least the Tories could be trusted to sink personal feelings, to accept any decision however painful, to keep their feuds among themselves and work together as a team? That asset has been converted into a liability. Accepting a referee's decision

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without question is the First Commandment of the English public schools. When the Olympic Games were last held in London, a British relay team was judged to have beaten the American team, and the medals were publicly awarded with the customary ceremonial. An American official objected that the result was wrong, and the cameras proved that it was. The medals were then redistributed. The whole of public school England was shocked to the soul. They did not doubt the validity of the objection, but they believed that to object at all should have been unthinkable. I am not quite sure what they thought the cameras were for if it were not to detect errors, but to do them justice they would have been even more shocked if a British official had lodged an objection.

I can think of only one explanation and that is psychological. I think that the strain of being gentlemanly all the time suddenly becomes unbearable and something breaks. This may happen to the Conservative Party only once in a lifetime but when it does the results are awe-inspiring. Can the damage be undone?

Perhaps it can. Ian Gilmour, proprietor of the *Spectator*, has become parliamentary Private Secretary to Quintin Hogg (the former Lord Hailsham), who was the most blatant of the contenders for the premiership. Quintin Hogg strained every nerve, and not only his own, to get the job and he certainly had no intention of allowing Macleod to come up from the back and pip him at the post. Gilmour has hitched his wagon to one star, but his paper to another. Randolph was a vociferous supporter of Quintin Hogg during the succession crisis. In spite of that and in spite of the exceedingly unkind things he has said about Macleod he is still writing his column for the *Spectator*.

Ah well, there'll always be an England.

Letter from Africa

First Step in the Transkei

THOMAS MOLNAR

The government of South Africa today is totally committed to the Bantustan policy. It hopes to secure for the Bantus a number of territories where they will eventually exercise self-rule. This is the positive counterpart of apartheid. It is a form of decolonization plus foreign aid to which the majority of the whites and many of the politically conscious Bantus are fully committed. The latter—that is, the politically hep Bantus—do not want a qualified suffrage that will keep them in a permanent minority situation, nor do they want one-man one-vote for the simple reason that they know that would soon lead to a Bantu majority in parliament, and even sooner to general civil war and massacre since the whites and the sizable Indian minority would never accept such a situation.

Instead, they favor the Transkei experiment: the creation of a semi-autonomous state in the traditional homeland of the Xhosas. The Transkei was officially launched last December 11 when the Xhosas (70 per cent of those eligible voted) elected the first all-Bantu parliament in South African history with Chief Kaiser Matanzima as Prime Minister. At the time much of the Western press pictured Matanzima as a black racist and a tool of the government in Pretoria, neither of which he is.

I spent some time with him and with his ministers in Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, shortly after the election and I found Matanzima to be a cultivated man, a university graduate in Roman and Dutch law, and a tribal chief with progressive ideas. He is refreshingly free (as was Moise Tshombe) of the demagoguery that so many African statesmen ritualistically engage in. No one knows better than Matanzima the difficulties in attaining the industrial and educational level necessary to establish the Transkei as an independent and largely self-governing enclave within a white South Africa.

The problem is immense. Is Pretoria right, in its insistence that the Transkei can best be developed and industrialized through government aids and grants, or would it be better and swifter if private white investments in the Transkei were encouraged? What, too, is to be the role of the white man in the Transkei? Or is he to have one at all?

Immediate Objective

Chief Matanzima has not taken a stand on the matter as yet, and presumably won't until the Xhosa deputies meeting in Umtata's handsome parliament building in May. Matanzima is well aware that whatever he does he will be called a "government stooge" by the leftist press both in South Africa and abroad (indeed, he was already so designated at election time). But he has worked for twenty years to get Pretoria's assent to the creation of the Transkei. And his immediate objective is to demonstrate that a Xhosa government is viable. The Transkei is the test case; if it works out then other Bantustans will be set up for other tribal units in South Africa.

But will the creation of Bantustans alleviate the problem of apartheid? The government hopes eventually to attract all Bantus to their respective Bantustans; to set up industries in the Bantustans to provide them with work; to instruct them in modern agricultural methods.

Since not all the Bantus can be concentrated in these areas—certainly not at once, or in the immediate future—the government is spending millions in another project that will make the separation of the races as complete as possible. It is clearing out old slums and building new townships, each with its own schools, hospitals, beer halls, playgrounds, churches, movie houses, golf course and other sports facilities and each with neighboring industrial plants and offices to provide the necessary work for the township dwellers.

There is one major, perhaps decisive, factor that it seems to me on the basis of my travels through South Africa has not been sufficiently considered in all these plans. Namely, the detribalized, urbanized Bantu whose links with the Transkei are

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tenuous and who has chosen to live, for better or worse, among the whites, surrounded by a culture he finds irresistibly attractive. By his work he contributes to this civilization, yet he is told to use the back door.

The whites of South Africa insist that Bantu cultural values must be preserved and that this can only be done if the Bantus are encouraged, even required, to live in their own communities. It is for this reason that a Bantu radio has been set up that now broadcasts in each of the Bantu languages, gearing its programs to the tastes and demands of its listeners. In Johannesburg, I met some of the 150 Zulus and Sothos who write, broadcast and act, and technically supervise these radio programs and who translate everything from Homer to Shakespeare into the native dialects. At Turfloop, in the Northern Transvaal, I visited a Bantu College, part of the University of South Africa, where hundreds of students pursue the same curriculum as do white students elsewhere. Some of the professors at Turfloop are Bantu, and more Bantus will replace white faculty members every year.

Bantu Advantages

The Verwoerd government is not engaged in window dressing designed to placate world opinion; it is earnestly trying to develop Bantu talent, potentiality and prosperity. And when I compare the state of the Bantus with what I saw in much of sub-Saharan Africa (except Angola), I conclude that the Bantu is both better educated and better off materially than the black man elsewhere on this continent. The main reason is, of course, that South Africa is a civilized Western country and the Bantu shares in the blessings of prosperity, order and organization—three conditions not always to be found in the rest of Africa.

Although the Bantu shares in these blessings, what is immediately obvious to the visitor is that South Africa is a white man's country. There are rich, even very rich non-whites, and a sizable middle class in both the Asiatic and Bantu communities. Yet everywhere the non-white is noticeably, often irritatingly, held in a position of social inferiority to the white. For example, Bantu and Indian teachers are paid less than white teachers because, it is explained, their standard of living is lower. This is not only humiliating, but it makes little economic sense at a time when the economy is booming and the purchasing power of the entire population ought to be raised.

Economic Effects

Many economists, incidentally, believe that the irresistible pressure of economic forces may well end up breaking down the "separate development" policy of the government. More Bantus, they say, will have to be trained for mechanical and technical jobs and their wages correspondingly adjusted. As it is these wages are rising anyway: last year they increased an average of 6 per cent for the Bantu as against 4 per cent for white labor.

What do the white South Africans, by and large, think of all of this? It should be stressed that at least 95 per cent of the whites in South Africa, while they may be critical of Dr. Verwoerd and his government, oppose him only in *degree*. The opposition United Party for instance, recommends some form of qualified franchise for non-whites but does not envisage any Negro member of parliament (the non-white voter would choose among white candidates). This is hardly the program of a true opposition. There is also a more radical party—the Progressives—who split off from the United Party some years ago. The Progressives would make sweeping concessions to the Bantus in the hope of saving the country from "the coming inevitable terrorism." The Progressive Party calls for qualified franchise at first, to be followed in short order by universal suffrage. But even it would set up safeguards against Bantu majority rule through a new constitution and a bill of rights. When cornered, the Progressives admit, however, as Mrs. Helen Sussmann, the only Progressive Party deputy, admitted to me, that such safeguards would be "fragile." "Violence," she emphatically told me, "is sooner or later inevitable. We should try to channel it first."

Hopes of the Nationalists

This defeatist attitude is countered by the frequently affirmed self-confidence of the members of the majority Nationalist Party. The Nationalists hope the United States will one day change its present policy toward South Africa; that the Afro-Asian countries will come to their senses; that a united Europe will want to ensure orderly progress in Africa. But most of all, the Nationalists are confident in themselves and in their will to maintain civilized standards in South Africa. Their realism, even if often clumsy and obstinate, is impressive. The visitor may be irritated—as I was—by the many, often intricate and grotesque, forms of apartheid, but he must have the honesty to admit that other forms of racial coexistence in Africa (and elsewhere) have not proved very satisfactory either.

In my opinion, some of the more spectacular forms of apartheid are likely to fade in the next ten years. Certainly the economic level of the Bantus will rise. Perhaps an ingenious political formula will be found for the assimilation of the 1.5 million "colored," who dread any identification with the Bantus and whose minds are easier for the white to understand, into the white community. This, plus white immigration, would modify the ethnic proportions of the country and reassure the whites.

These are not only my opinions: many younger Nationalists are of the same mind. Tomorrow their influence may be felt and, in the long run, prove beneficial.

SOLUTION TO LAST WEEK'S TRANS-O-GRAM (Feb. 11, 1964)

President F(ranklin D.) Roosevelt SPEECH

It will never be possible for any length of time for any group of the American people, either by reason of wealth or learning or inheritance or economic power, to retain any mandate, any permanent authority to arrogate to itself the political control of American public life.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Prospective Ruin of the City Colleges

New York's city colleges are vibrating with rumors of the doom to come. When, not long ago, this writer spoke at Queens College, he found that the great majority of the faculty, and most of the students, were dismayed at designs from on high. For the powers that be plan an immense increase of enrollments, especially to accommodate "those coming from Negro and Puerto Rican homes." They are budgeting for an increase of 50 per cent in 1964 alone—and more to come!

Kirk

Here we have the degradation of the democratic dogma. In order to crowd into tuition-free municipal colleges everyone with any pretence to being able to read and write, the standards of instruction are to be lowered catastrophically — and the tasks of the professors made unbearable. Already, at Queens, nearly 1,500 students are crowded into a single lecture! "It is not good to be educated in a crowd," wrote Lord Percy of Newcastle; and he thought of 150, not 1,500, as a crowd.

Pretext for Boondoggle

A well-known scholar who teaches at one of the city colleges—but who, in this "democratic" municipal system of higher education, finds it safer here to use the pseudonym of Charles Drew—points out that this Leviathan enlargement almost certainly will not benefit the "minority groups" whose claims are the pretext for this educationist boondoggle of the mass-age.

"When the smoke-screen was cleared away, and the two weeks given the faculties for 'democratic' discussion were clumsily terminated by a Board of Higher Education announcement, the cruel paradox of these proposals became clear: more will be done to damage Negro aspiration than to assist it. Naturally the NAACP is unlikely to see this, simply analyzing the surface offer of the enlargement—which is just what Mayor Wagner desires. But the New York colleges will be afflicted with courses in which the students barely see their teachers, are barely graded; and yet the underprivileged student is precisely the one most in need of the personal session. His high school has not prepared him for the large lecture-system. He will find an inflexible flunking-system waiting for him — labeled 'democratic.'

"College education, *per se*, is 'academically elite.' Public mandate set up four city colleges in New York, not fifty-four. Presumably the public wanted such education to mean something. It is unsubstantiated that a lowering of the cut-off point for admission will automatically produce the magic of colored students in classes. Perhaps it simply will bring in white trash. Moreover, the attitude involved is a patent violation of our tradition of free education for the most qualified, regardless of race, creed or wealth—not that this violation seems to bother City Hall very much.

"It seems useless to object rationally to our civil educators, with Tammany Hall or its equivalent on their backs. They have posses of perspiring Education Department aides, all employed by the taxpayers, to prove them right —principally through juggled statistics. The Livingston Street Board of Higher Education headquarters, for instance, possesses a whole section statistically proving the glories of the famous Higher Horizons program which they created for the racial ghettoes: this is like reviewing your own book. The fiat has been issued: bigger is better. It's 'more democratic.'

"And the true nature of the iron mind behind all this is revealed when we find ultra-Liberal CCNY President Gallagher sneering at 'the labor-union psychology' of his faculty—a reference, incidentally, caught by the Federation of Teachers and circulated to every labor headquarters in the country.

"The faculty are told that 'Not for a moment do we suggest that academic standards be abandoned. All we ask is that we roll back the admissions cut-off point to where it was a decade ago.' But these statements are self-contradictory. Today's standards in the lower schools are far lower than they were a decade ago. The iron fist behind this velvet demagoguery, then, will hurt the 'underprivileged' most of all. It will mean huge, impersonal lectures, presently by television and tape, for just the kind of student most in need of personal attention. And it will impose the guillotine of selection by flunk-out.

City Fathers Cover Up

"The New York city fathers, having failed to plan, now are transferring to their instructional staffs their own unresolved economic and sociological problems, while braying shibboleths at the electorate. One scarcely can blame teachers for unionizing, as they are, in the new United Federation of College Teachers, an AFL-CIO affiliate. Their by-laws permit them no control over their numbers of students or their work-loads, and most of them are hooked on their pensions.

"So the mandate for municipal education is being issued as to an educational factory. Yet so long as numbers swell on the books, City Hall will beam. The mess falls upon the gifted student. He wants education."

This professor's scorn and wrath are sufficiently representative of the reaction of college teachers of arts and sciences in the New York system. Whatever their deficiencies, the city colleges did maintain tolerable intellectual standards. Now, it appears, they will sink below the level of Dismal Swamp A & M. At this rate, a city college degree will be free and worthless; such students as want discipline of the intellect and stimulus of the imagination, and can scrape some dollars together, will have to enroll in a private college or university that retains some faint vestige of the humane scale.

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Keynes at Bay

MELCHIOR PALYI

A true revolution, with or without blood and tears, means what Nietzsche has called the "revaluation of values," an outright break with basic standards and traditions. That is what has happened in the economic thinking and economic policies of this generation. Keynesianism is the name of the revolutionary ideology that clothes with academic dignity the perversion of the common sense embodied in classical economics.

It is a plain truism that *real* wealth (consumer satisfaction) grows out of production. And production depends on savings. The more we save, the better we provide—that is, the lower the cost the consumer has to bear, and the more employment opportunities will be generated. Thrift is the prime stimulus to the construction industries, in particular. Given a stable (gold) standard and competitive markets, the flexibility of prices, wages, and interest rates brings about the all-round adjustment of economic activities in accordance with consumer preferences. In the final analysis, the buyer has no "purchasing power" except the one he has created: the goods and services he offers are the only means by which he can buy the output offered by others (Say's Law). In Professor Hutt's words in this masterly book, income is not created by the transfer of money but "by the flow of productive services measured in money." Consumption is the purpose *and* the dead-end of production.

Keynes denied the validity of Say's Law and so do his followers. He proceeded to build up his New Economics by turning upside-down the fundamental cause-effect relationship. Spending became the creator of wealth, not saving. The more we spend, the more employment, and spending power, are being contrived. The trouble is that, by Keynesian dialectics, the saver obstinately "withholds" his income. He must be discouraged by Cheap Money in perpetuity. Which has the further "advantage" of encouraging the producer —to replace genuine savings by (inflationary) bank credit.

Keynesianism: Retrospect and Prospect, by W. H. Hutt. Regnery, $7.50

There is nothing new in this heretical view that has sparked a whole literature "erecting impressive mathematical models on conceptually confused foundations," turning "attention away from the most vital aspects of rational allocation of scarce means in response to competing ends." Pamphleteers of the Mercantilist Age, in the sixteenth to the eighteeenth centuries, defended the luxury and the "vices" of the rich as the source of employment for the poor and wealth for all. But Keynes was the first to put such twaddle into the jargon of pure economic theory, complete with concoctions like the "multiplier" and the "accelerator," substituting fictitious mechanisms for human judgments and decisions, using mathematical "models" which define nothing, explain nothing, and can be construed arbitrarily—a "game of cryptograms."

Keynes: *"Spending became the creator of wealth, not saving."*

If deficiency of demand rather than defect of pricing is at the root of the "cycle," then the squandering consumer is the acme of economic wisdom, and credit expansion the substitute for thrift. By that token, all our concepts and policies have to be revised. They were indeed.

The *General Theory* of Keynes appeared in 1936; it was an instantaneous worldwide success, as no book on economics ever had been before. It preached the "euthanasia" of the wicked saver. It requested that the government step in as spender. Who cared that the book was loaded with demagogy and self-contradictions—to say nothing of its obscurity? It offered, in pseudo-scientific terminology, an easy solution, a panacea, based on the naive hypothesis that the depression could be overcome by unleashing the money presses. Utopia was at hand, if such outmoded "disciplinary taboos" as the gold standard, liquidity rules, price level indices, were ignored. All of which was in line with the depression climate and carried the convincing force of—the experience provided by Nazism.

In the thirties, Hitler Germany stood out as the one country that managed to create full employment and unprecedented prosperity in the midst of a worldwide slump—by defaulting on her foreign debts, providing public works (armaments), piling up domestic debts, manipulating the currency, scrapping all rules of bank liquidity, putting foreign trade and the domestic price mechanism under severe control.

It has generally been overlooked, even in Hutt's brilliant book, that Keynesianism originally was little more than the adaptation of the so-called Schachtian ("contra-cyclical") policies to a more civilized society, rationalizing them into a suitable "theoretical" framework. The Soviet pattern of central planning was

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Random Notes

● MOVIES: The better-Red-than-dead Old Home Week in Los Alamos, which called itself a film festival (First International Peace Film Festival), enjoyed an attendance of less than 500 souls and took in less than a thousand bucks at the box office. The showings came from Japan, Czechoslovakia, the Quakers, and Russia. Los Alamos citizens were thoroughly bored, and the Saturday morning cap-pistol-toting crowd, done out of its weekly spree with ray guns and six-shooters, howled. . . . Alfred Hitchcock, who has been planning a movie about an H-bomb exploding inadvertently, to have been called *The Village of the Stars*, has lost interest, abandoned the project, and turned to a thriller titled *Marnie*. . . . Bette Davis' next role will be that of Mary Todd Lincoln. . . . *Cleopatra* has been shortened from its backside-paralyzing four hours and five minutes to three hours and thirty-nine minutes.

● THE GODS: Maurice Chevalier's farewell appearance went so well —five weeks at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées—that he's signed up for another one next year, and the year after. . . . Marlene Dietrich, invited to a party in Madrid and asked if she could be expected to sing a little, said, "Sure!"—if her expenses were taken care of. Namely, $25,000 for the singing, seven round-trip flights, and a 17-piece orchestra.

● LIVE TV, IT'S WONDERFUL: In Duesseldorf, a quizmaster drew a number from a lottery bowl and dialed the lucky number. As both sides of the conversation could be heard, everyone soon realized that the winner was a member of the faculty of a bordello de luxe, and German humor being what it is, the laughter went on for days.

● BOOKS: A customer in the Pickwick Bookshop in Hollywood, the kind who's always pulling things from the bottom of stacks, unseated a considerable pile of books and got clobbered on the head by Laura Huxley's *You Are Not the Target*. . . . A detective agency in Texas has ordered a copy of Randolph Karch's *How to Recognize Type Faces*, which is, of course, about Bodoni and Garamond; and a pharmaceutical firm in Massachusetts has bought a copy of S. R. Ranganathan's *Colon Classification*, which is about a system for cataloguing books in libraries. . . . The third annual Bollingen prize for the best translation of poetry into English goes this year to Richard Wilbur for his *Tartuffe* (Harcourt, Brace) and to Walter Arndt for his translation of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* (Dutton).

thrown into the bargain in the watered-down version of a national income accounting (macro-economics), superimposed on the free market's "micro-economics."

If the Nazis could beat the depression, why couldn't we? To beat past, present, and future depressions is the overriding objective of Keynesianism. It has to be, given the anti-capitalist premise that the untutored market economy is perpetually threatened by stagnation, or worse. Allegedly, it tends to produce more than people want to consume and to run out of investment opportunities. This utter nonsense is, of course, a fundamental tenet of socialism, swallowed even by "right-wing" Keynesians who claim to save capitalism—from itself. The "classical" answer, which Professor Hutt elaborates, was that the troubles of the free market are the price rigidities and structural maladjustments —due to governmental interventions that foster monopolies, and to the inflation of the money supply. Thereby, the system of market values is vitiated with the result of restraining production in one sphere and unduly expanding it in another. That is where depressions generate; to suppress them, the rigidities have to be eliminated and the currency stabilized. Money (credit) policy is the prime, but by no means the sole, instrument of stabilization and long-run "full" employment—combating inflation in order to preclude deflations.

Professor Hutt's chief accomplishment is his positive and precise elaboration of the "coordinative" role of competitive market prices. Inflation falsifies and discoordinates them. And inflation is fully within the scope of monetary management that can make and unmake it. Hutt discards such concepts as Roepke's "imported" inflation and Haberler's "cost-and-push" inflation. What matters is the regulation of the volume of money—and the public's confidence in the integrity of the management: that it will maintain the stability of the currency's (gold) value.

Monetary policy emerges as a matter of moral as well as of economic principle. The ethical good provides direct economic benefits by encouraging productive saving, rational risk-taking and responsible consumer attitudes. But a policy of restoring coordination must cover all aspects of public policy. As to devaluations, Professor Hutt calls them "a stupidly rude way." By implication, the same holds for a currency upvaluation like Dr. Erhard's to stabilize German prices while their inflation was being promoted by sustaining farm price rigidities and subsidizing an overheated housing market. To deceive the debtors is no less reprehensible, ethically and economically, than to entrap the creditors.

The foregoing remarks have been inspired by Hutt's new book. Sheer limitation of space would frustrate any attempt at adequately reviewing a work that is perhaps this generation's most important single contribution to the theory of money. Lately, Keynes has been the object of many very justified attacks; for one, Henry Hazlitt's *The Failure of the 'New Economics'* (1959) is outstanding.

Hutt goes after the latter-day Keynesians as well. Actually he seems to try to convince them, or the best among them, that they have ceased to be Keynesians. And he does something else: what he modestly represents as a restatement of the economic (and politico-ethical) philosophy of Adam Smith. In reality, his

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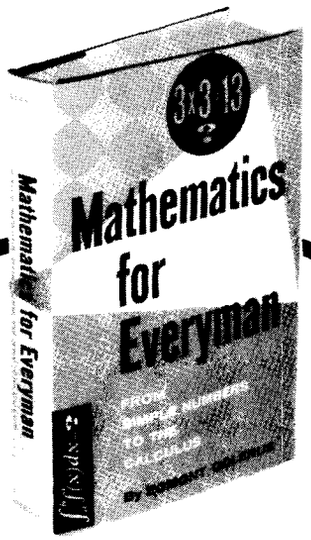

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book is far more than a reconfirmation of the Smithian approach. From his penetrating reappraisal, classical economics emerges, invigorated, on new and more tightly formulated theoretical foundations.

To comprehend Hutt's masterly analysis, to grasp its full implication for economic policy, is not an easy task. Easy readability would block its academic success; and he is primarily a theorist. In view of academic influence in the political arena as well as in education, the need for an erudite work that cannot be ignored by the academic fraternity, was paramount. We now need an additional volume—to clarify several important points left unclarified, and to expand the scope of the book. Keynesianism is a state of mind, not just a school of thought—often a semi-conscious state of mind shared by many who profess to be non- or even anti-Keynesians.

Fiction

Distaff and Apron-String

GUY DAVENPORT

WHAT MAN CAN DOUBT that Neanderthal woman deplored her shaggy husband's table manners, his heroic belches, his piling into the elk-hide bed with mud between his toes? With what resigned tolerance did she watch his idiotic drawing on the wall? The wives of generals, firemen, and geniuses are envied by lesser housewives and sentimentalists, for in the school of opinion that considers womankind a martyrdom and instant sainthood in itself, the greatest trials (which is to say, of course, triumphs) fall to those who wield against the great, humility's battle-axe and the superiority of weakness. The large part of she novelists, back to the nursery door and tear in the eye, write about men as if they were charming lunkheads who have their uses, and even a certain cloddish charm. But, as in two of these novels by the dainty sex, it's easier to keep the male in the background altogether, standing by for a clownish turn.

Take Heed of Loving Me, by Elizabeth Gray Vining. Lippincott, $5.95
Don't Knock the Corners Off, by Caroline Glyn. Coward-McCann, $3.95
The Little Girls, by Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf, $4.95

Elizabeth Gray Vining, one of the head ladies at Bryn Mawr, disciple of the saintly Friend, Rufus Jones, and governess to the Crown Prince Akihito, has set out to show us John Donne in the bosom of his family, smiling sickly as one brat tosses a precious book into the fire and another goes off like a fire siren over its mush. Enlisting, mannerism by mannerism, the art with which her neighbor Catherine Drinker Bowen excogitated the worlds of John Adams, Chief Justice Holmes, and Attorney General Coke, Miss Vining gives us a Donne who cared for naught but his wife and countless children, a warrior over rent, fresh air, and an income.

Late at night he can be seen scribbling verses which are dutifully passed over to his wife. He goes off on an embassy and flings back at his tearful Anne, "Sweetest Love, I do not go for weariness of thee!" His children make a sizable orchestra of lutes and recorders, and they amuse Daddy with a ringing "Go and catch a falling star, Get with child a mandrake root." Jack Donne, it seems, fought with Essex, dashed off witty poems, winked (as a man might in those heady times) at Countess This and Lady That, yet, deep down, he was like your son and mine, a lively, big-hearted boy who might have followed an ostler's wench into the barley—life was coarse back when Bess glittered and Drake swashed his buckler—but never did more, among the Quality, than mutter, "I am two fooles, I know, for loving and for saying soe." He married for love, enraged propriety thereby, and suffered stoically right up until James shoved him into holy orders, and then he could be heard intoning from the pulpit, "Noe man is an island."

This is not the John Donne whose complex fusion of intellect and heart has gripped the attention of our age

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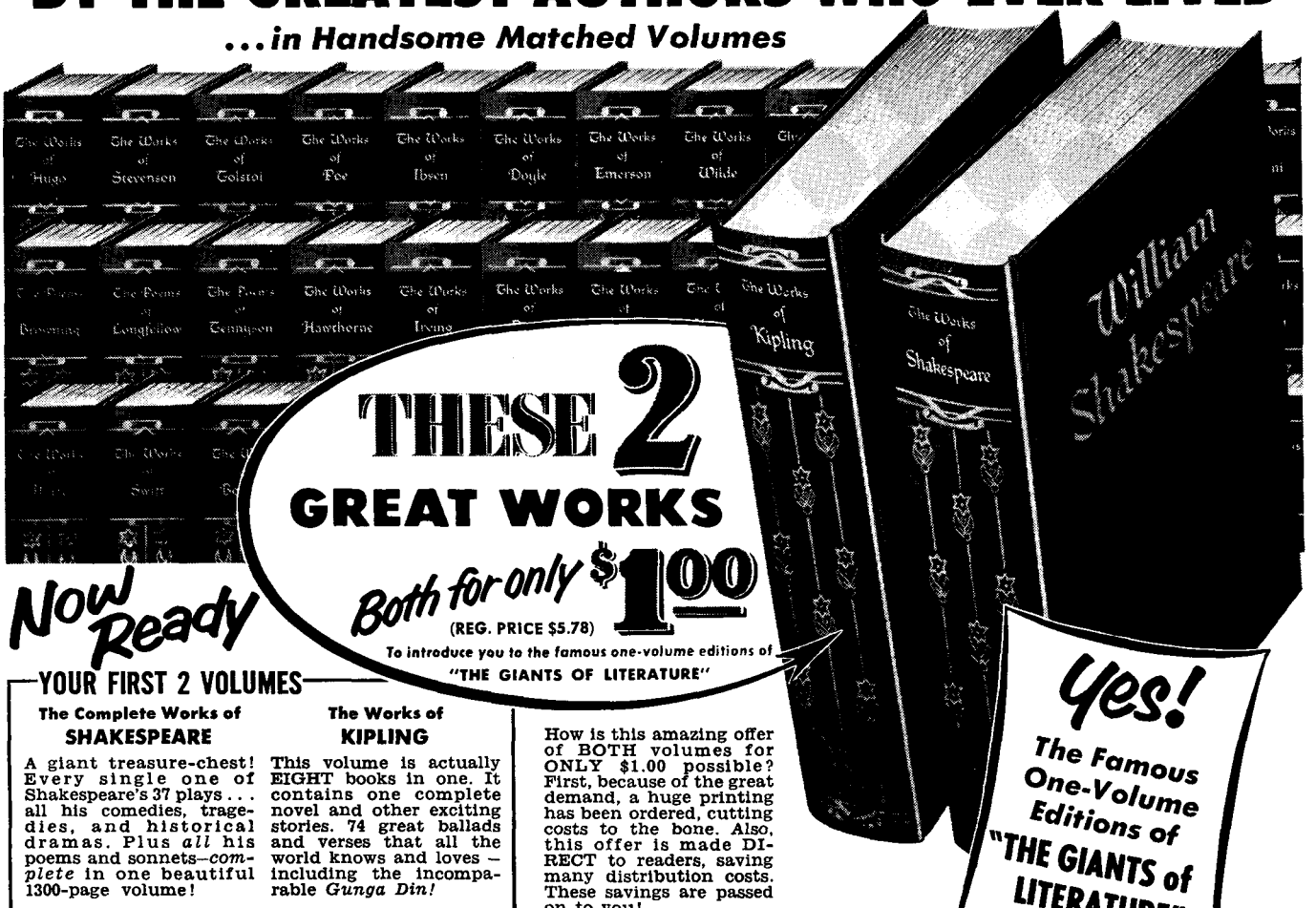

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LEADING CONTENDERS

National Book Awards

The judges for the 1964 National Book Awards are reading widely to find the books that they will choose in March as the most distinguished books by American authors published in the United States during 1963. Some of the books they find most outstanding are listed below:

POETRY

At the End of the Open Road LOUIS SIMPSON Wesleyan
Collected and New Poems: 1924-1963 MARK VAN DOREN Hill and Wang
Moving Target W. S. MERWIN Atheneum
Selected Poems JOHN CROWE RANSOM Knopf
To Mix With Time MAY SWENSON Scribners
Judges: Jean Garrigue, Anthony Hecht, John Hall Wheelock

FICTION

The Centaur JOHN UPDIKE Knopf
The Group MARY McCARTHY Harcourt, Brace and World
Idiots First BERNARD MALAMUD Farrar, Straus
V THOMAS PYNCHON Lippincott
The Will HARVEY SWADOS World
Judges: John Cheever, Robie Macauley, Philip Rahv

OTHER

Anti-Intellectualism in American Life RICHARD HOFSTADTER Knopf
Apollinaire: Poet Among the Painters FRANCIS STEEGMULLER Farrar, Straus
Beyond the Melting Pot NATHAN GLAZER and DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN MIT—Harvard
Change, Hope and the Bomb DAVID E. LILIENTHAL Princeton
The Civil War SHELBY FOOTE Random
The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera BERTRAM D. WOLFE Stein and Day
The Fire Next Time JAMES BALDWIN Dial
The First New Nation SEYMOUR M. LIPSET Basic Books
John Keats: The Making of a Poet AILEEN WARD Viking
John Keats WALTER JACKSON BATE Harvard
The Last Horizon R. F. DASMANN Macmillan
Man-Made America: Chaos or Control? CHRISTOPHER TUNNARD and BORIS PUSHKAREV Yale
The Quiet Crisis STUART UDALL Holt, Rinehart and Winston
The South and the Southerner RALPH McGILL Atlantic Monthly Press—Little, Brown
Success Story: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure PETER LYONS Scribners
Wasp Farm HOWARD ENSIGN EVANS Natural History Press—Doubleday
Judges: *Arts and Letters*—Charles Rolo, John K. Sherman, Wylie Sypher
Science, Philosophy and Religion—Houston Peterson, Paul B. Sears, George Shuster
History and Biography—Benjamin DeMott, James Thomas Flexner, C. Vann Woodward

The National Book Awards are administered by the National Book Committee, a non-profit educational association. The awards consist of $1000 prizes donated by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, and the Book Manufacturers Institute.

Watch for announcement of the winners—Tuesday, March 10

since 1910, when paradox returned to characterize all experience. It is not the Donne who preached the greatest sermons in English. But it is a plausible poet in a plausible historical novel—and the historical novel, no matter what quantity of fustian and pasteboard it's stuck together with, has its purposes. Like the moving picture, it deals in weather and encounters. If Miss Vining had evoked nothing more than the chestnut-bearded Donne writing for an hour by candlelight, she would have gone as far as she could in projecting Donne into a novel. By trying to find the occasion for a poem's inspiration (we are asked to believe that "The Exstasie" was conceived while Donne was taking a breather from Essex's trial, and found his future wife in an arbor), Miss Vining embarrasses herself and weaves cobwebs with good historical hemp. But insofar as she fleshes out the bare bones of fact into an imaginative fullness, her work carries civilization forward and even contributes to it.

The curious thing about little Caroline Glyn's novel is that no one would guess it is by a fifteen-year-old. Mediocrity piously imitated by the young passes easily for the real thing. This breathless account of girlish days at school is advertised as "seen from the underneath, from the child's instead of the teacher's angle," as if that were extraordinary rather than the age-old rule. And what she writes about is the same as ever in English school novels. Drain-conscious as always, the English think of school in a crescendo of apprehensions: classroom, playing field, and W. C. That is to say, dullness, sudden pneumonia, and horrors undreamed of by Leopold von Sacher Masoch.

Our heroine, who at nine publishes Spenderish verse in little magazines, is first put to school, for Liberal reasons, with the children of the unwashed proletariat. Pummelled, outraged, kicked, and within cooey of neurotic collapse, she is rescued and placed in a more genteel girls' school, where she learns that civilization is nice. Snails and puppy dog tails can't begin to describe what she thinks of boys, but our story ends with the discovery that there are males who can be terribly keen on fabrics, and talk Matisse. Frightfully clever, I'm sure.

Elizabeth Bowen's novel is a psychological study of some depth. A

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woman's novel about women, and with a simple and strong plot, it scarcely bothers to mention the male at all, except to elucidate, in passing, that the three women of her story have sapped dry and tossed aside three husbands. Miss Bowen keeps her characters within a murky parapsychology which fathers, husbands, and sons cannot hope to understand. The real plot is just out of sight, somewhere over our left shoulder; our attention has to make do with a chaff of hints and clues. A notice in the agony columns brings together three women who have not seen each other since schooldays, when they buried a treasure (a chain, a message in an unknown tongue, a revolver, a copy of Shelley, a sixth toe in formaldehyde). Their reunion, as easily made as if thirty years had not intervened, precipitates one of the darkest encounters in modern fiction, and the novel lives on in the head after the last page, for it is not at all certain what has happened, or how much of it the characters understand among themselves. But Miss Bowen is a novelist, as Miss Vining is essentially a romancer and Miss Glyn a fifteen-year-old.

Parkinson's Folly

LAWRENCE R. BROWN

Since Professor Parkinson says that he writes as a historian not as a satirist, we must take him at his word. At times it is a temptation not to, for the declared purpose of this book is to urge the United States to furnish military and economic aid to the Soviet Government to protect

Russia against China: Soviet Russia is the last bulwark of a decadent West, so in behalf of our whole civilization we must help Russia defend itself against the aggressive designs of a resurgent East headed by China.

This curious thesis that the East is resurgent and Russia our only defense against the Yellow Peril is ostensibly arrived at by inescapable reasoning from the historical facts of several millenia. In Professor Parkinson's image of himself, he is just the trained engineer who correctly foresees the future operation of a new machine by scientific analysis of the past workings of an old one. Actually, his history is not up to the intellectual level of even the most ordinary engineering. He does not bother looking up the known facts in the professional literature. He does not employ anything resembling the rigidly defined units of action that make a limited prevision possible in the mechanical sciences. He does not define historical units and then examine all the action of those units whenever they have appeared in human history, which was, for instance, Toynbee's intention.

His real interest lies elsewhere. Even so far as historical facts are concerned, he stays essentially within the old-line-of-progress scheme: Egypt-Babylon-Greece-Rome-the West, simply pictured as a piston action alternating in its progression from dominant East to dominant West and back again. A word or two, no more, identifies ancient India and China, and a few faulty paragraphs are devoted to Islam and Byzantium, the latter identified as part of the West—presumably because it occupied Greece and the Balkans—while Islam is not part of the West despite its strong position in North Africa, a far more Romanized province than any held by Byzantium.

His "East" and "West" are concepts everywhere so vague and ill-defined, or undefined, that they are worthless as guides either in histori-

East and West, by C. Northcote Parkinson. Houghton, $5.00

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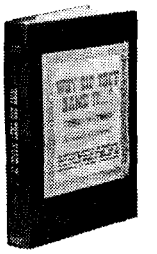
By Hannah Campbell



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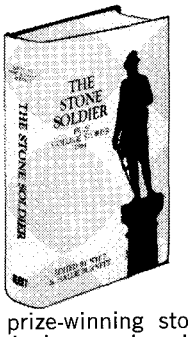

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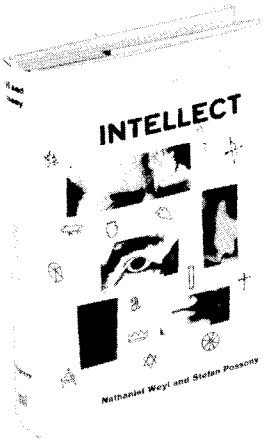

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cal analysis or for current political action. The "East" he defines as composed of people having "a smattering of English, a contempt for the Negro and a reluctance to be seen doing manual work." "Such unity as exists among the countries of Asia . . . is based upon such feelings of hostility as they may happen to share." What relevance has such a "definition" to the confrontations at Marathon or Lepanto (to which he in fact applies it)? Indeed, except for the gratuitous, and, as unique to the East, erroneous, allusion to the Negro, it is a definition which equally includes within the "East" the Western-trained Negro clerks who are momentarily the titular rulers of Middle Africa.

Likewise his "West" is undefined. Perhaps he feels it does not need definition since it is simply the "civilized world" of eighteenth-century liberalism, that is, the end result of the line-of-progress scheme at a time when a purely imaginary Classical past was proclaimed as the origin of the contemporary civilization of Western Europe. Today there is no excuse for pretending not to know that in historical reality the Classical civilization was totally different from the romantic imaginings of the Renaissance and the eighteenth century. Our relation to that long extinct society is indeed complex, but it is not one of direct descent, physical or intellectual. What is historically evident is that the West as a historical unit is a civilization developed by the mixed and partly unknown ancestors of the Catholics of 1500 and continued by their descendants, a continuum in which men of other ancestry, civilized and barbaric, have in part merged their physical strains, but not their cultures. This is the only "West" that has an identifiable meaning.

THERE REMAINS a much more serious flaw in Professor Parkinson's thesis. It is not the "East" (the non-Western and non-Russian inhabitants of the globe, which is what he means by "East") that today threatens the West. No member of that disparate assemblage has by its own intellectual or economic superiority or by its own industrial or military power driven back the West. The retreat of the West is not before forces out of Professor Parkinson's "East." It is a retreat before the or-

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ganized political and military operations of Soviet Russia.

Thus, whether Russia is in fact a participant of Western civilization, whether the Russians are among the men of barbaric ancestry who have adopted the civilization of the West, is evidently a question of contemporary rather than historical fact. In the past Russia was not a part of the West. Whether it now has become so (Rome, too, had a somewhat un-Classical past in comparison with Athens), is perhaps the most important single political question of our time. Russian ambitions are hardly a secret, even from Liberals, and as decade by decade these ambitions move closer to fulfillment we have to ponder the historical question whether a triumphant Russia would be the militant, successful, imperial form of the West—what Rome and Ch'in were to their respective civilizations—or whether it would be the destruction of the West. Only if the former is true would there be moral justification for Parkinson's program, if not of his thesis. But then, there would be moral justification, too, of the whole pro-Soviet movement which operates so powerfully, and indeed today almost openly, in the West.

Movies

Fielding on Film

FRANCIS RUSSELL

I HAVE THOUGHT for some time that it is just not possible to transfer such panoramic classics as *War and Peace* or *Vanity Fair* to the screen and retain any of the depth of the originals. Perhaps if Lessing were alive today he could explain this in an addendum to the *Laocoön*. For the two art forms do not have interchangeable techniques. That is why it is easier to make a reasonably good picture out of a worthless book —*Peyton Place* comes to mind—than out of a good one. The producer is freer to operate on his own when he lacks respect for the author. The only adequate translation of a book of literary value into serious film terms that I have seen in recent years was *An Outcast of the Islands*. Unfortunately it did not do very well —a double irony, since the book itself is part of the trilogy that is Conrad's neglected masterpiece.

All of which brings me by the detour of a paragraph to that latest film version of a classic, *Tom Jones*. With a great beating of gongs, like the one that used to summon Mr. J. Arthur Rank to breakfast, *Tom Jones* is now being proclaimed the picture of the year. It may be so, for that matter. After all, this is leap year.

Make no mistake about it. Anybody can spend a very pleasant evening at the film *Tom Jones*. And after the tedium of some of the "epics" that have happened along, and a few more like *The Bible* and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* now shaping up, the picture is a welcome interlude, a particularly green oasis for this reviewer. But it's not Fielding, not by a long shot.

The general outlines of Fielding's plot are there, but as sifted down by John Osborne the result is more along the lines of a French bedroom farce. Fielding described Tom as a young man whose "life was a constant struggle between honor and inclination." Osborne's Tom does not struggle at all; he is, in Mary Webb's

words, a walking sex organ—granted that, as played by Albert Finney, he seems an engaging if slightly too pretty young man. Fielding's lusty bawdiness is often reduced to a series of snickers, and I must say that I found the too-prolonged dining scene between Tom and Mrs. Waters irrelevantly obscene.

Mrs. Waters, as played by Joyce Redman, is truest to the book of all the characters, in fact she is just as I had imagined Mrs. Waters to be when as a Harvard freshman I first read *Tom Jones*. Yet, seeing Joyce Redman again, I found myself a little sad that time had relentlessly made her a somewhat faded middle-aged woman. Just after World War II when I was living in London I saw her on the stage with a sense of enchantment. Sometimes mornings I would be lucky enough to catch the same Number 11 bus from Chelsea that she used to take. That 11 bus was quite an institution. Occasionally I would spot T. S. Eliot on the top deck in the front row engrossed in the *Times* crossword puzzle. From it I might get a glimpse of Sybil Thorndyke carrying a string shopping bag down the King's Road or Augustus John shambling along before the pubs opened. But when Joyce Redman got aboard, the horizon closed in. The bus was radiant with her charm. She should have been able to play Sophie Western, not Mrs. Waters. There is a flaw in the scheme of things that allows a Joyce Redman to grow old.

Sophie is in fact played with blond charm by Susannah York, who doesn't really have too much to do but does it well. Dame Edith Evans, as Squire Western's sister, is Dame Edith—and that is all she needs to be. I wish that there were some American honors list to make Dames out of our actresses. Joan Greenwood has just the right eighteenth-century air and lisp for Lady Bellaston. But I found Hugh Griffith, for all his Welsh bounce—or perhaps because of it—a mistake as Squire Western. A Welshman is not John Bull, and Griffith's huffings and puffings were laid on just a bit too thick, and his roarings too much on a farcical Disney model. It is good for a laugh—but *Tom Jones* was not written as a farce.

The background of the green English countryside is enchanting. In whatever corner of England the film was made—Somerset or Dorset, it seemed to me—the eighteenth-century rural scene is lush and real. For a time I could almost believe in it, forgetting that most of England has become an uglier sub-development than anything this side of Los Angeles. It must have been quite a feat technically for director Tony Richardson to blank out all the telephone poles and petrol pumps.

But Richardson is a clever director. His *Tom Jones* isn't up to his *A Taste of Honey*, but he has given us a fast-paced frolic in a setting that rings true. He even refurbishes such an ancient device as the aside, and with complete success. I expect

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that nine out of ten members of his audience will not have read Fielding, and it may seem carping to complain that this romping picture does not really convey the original (after all, isn't that what the critics always say?). My suggestion to the public is to enjoy the romp, enjoy the scenery and the actors, enjoy the tumbling in the hay if you like that sort of thing. Then go home and read the book.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MARKET THEORY AND THE PRICE SYSTEM, by Israel M. Kirzner (Van Nostrand, $6.95). The Keynes Mutiny of the depressed Thirties was not the only revolt against neoclassical economics: In 1933 Professor Edward H. Chamberlin of Harvard and Mrs. Joan Robinson of Cambridge separately reached the conclusion that capitalistic competition was not really competition at all, at least not as practically everybody had been thinking of business rivalry until then. In the Chamberlin-Robinson view, competition (save for wheat farmers and a few other limited cases) was rather impure, imperfect, oligopolistic, and downright—however incongruous—monopolistic . . . which Marx and Engels had argued all along. The Chamberlin-Robinson view still dominates contemporary economic thought, as a glance through the textbooks of Samuelson, Bach, and McConnell or a look into the applied anti-trust theory of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, will confirm. Most welcome, then, is this sharp, theoretical volume by NYU economics professor Israel M. Kirzner, a pupil of Ludwig von Mises, who does a much-needed job of recasting competition theory. The Kirzner study is based on the premise that under free enterprise and freedom of entry, competition is always a concomitant of entrepreneurship, even when the market (*i.e.*, the consumer) elects a single entrepreneur. For even with a single-firm industry, a single seller, in short any sort of Government privilege, even with a "monopoly" (if without franchise, subsidy, tariff, or other protection), *potential* competitors, let alone those with substitute products, watch from the wings for a misstep, anxious to replace a one-firm show which may let down the audience, the very sovereign consumers.

W. H. PETERSON

JEFFERSON AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE DARKER SIDE, by Leonard W. Levy (Belknap, $4.50). Dr. Levy reminds us that Jefferson favored prosecutions for seditious libel; drafted a bill of attainder under which a man accused of treason could be murdered at will; tolerated concentration camps for political enemies; used the Army in peacetime to harass opponents; subsidized character assassins; and recommended that a forged edition of Hume's *History* be used to indoctrinate university students. His record on religious liberty, however, was spotless and would have pleased the present Supreme Court. Nor did he flinch from defense of civil liberties when out of power. In examining the inconsistencies of this great and self-righteous man, Levy rejects the justification that the nascent Republic faced clear and present danger and quotes with ambiguous disapproval John Quincy Adams' verdict that Jefferson was filled with "deep duplicity," was insincere, pliable as to principles and deluded himself in order to deceive others.

N. WEYL

THE FATEFUL TURN, by Clarence B. Carson (Foundation for Economic Education, $3.50 cloth, $2 paper). In 230 pages Dr. Carson 1) describes the crumpling of the American tradition, 2) traces the genealogy of our intellectual termites through the past century, 3) analyzes, better than anyone I've read, the "collectivist curvature" of the Liberal mind, 4) rejects the "halfway house" of Liberal Republicanism after an assault on the statist-welfarist policies of the Hoover administration and 5) gives a cry for liberty. Although there is some confusion in Dr. Carson's use of the term "liberty" (which is of "ultimate importance" on page 10 but "is not an end . . . rather, liberty is a condition, a means to greater ends" on page 32) and "freedom" (which is "a private, personal, and inner matter" on page 146 but is so external that "government is the real enemy" of it on page 152), and although some of the reasoning is lax (why assail the twentieth century for granting the franchise to women, on the grounds it was a concession "to the notion that groups have rights," when the same criticism with equal irrelevance might be made of the eighteenth-century grant of the franchise to men?), nevertheless there is much of historical and analytical value in these essays (largely reprinted from *The Freeman*). Asterisk for special attention: Dr. Carson's concern to refresh the reputation of Josiah Royce; the clarity and rigor of his distinction between arbitrary and natural rights; and the republication of his *Modern Age* critique of John Dewey's theory of "democracy," in which it becomes clear that though Dewey used the term in thirty (count 'em) different ways, when you get right down to it he meant, by golly, that what all those folks out there say you oughta do, you better do, or you'll be popped (democratically) in the hoosegow.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

PEKING AND MOSCOW, by Klaus Mehnert (Putnam, $6.95). In these days, when Dean Rusk is being "misquoted" about the necessity of helping out good old Nikita during his time of troubles with abominable old Mao, a reading of Herr Mehnert is definitely in order. Not so much because Mehnert is profound or masterly; he is not (although he does have his moments). His work is Germanic in size and ponderous in style; he is a capable synthesizer who tells us more about China (and the USSR) than we are likely to want really to know. Still, somebody in Foggy Bottom should read through his pages. Then maybe Secretary Rusk will hear that all the oriental despots in the world are not located in Peking. To be sure, Mehnert makes it clear enough that Russian Marxists are Russians and Chinese Marxists are Chinese by accident of birth and culture—but they all spring from under the overcoat of Lenin.

W. D. JACOBS

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To the Editor

Is Max Eastman Conservative?

In answering Max Eastman's question, "Am I Conservative?" [Jan. 28], I must say yes. Mr. Eastman hits the nail on the head when he accuses NATIONAL REVIEW of overemphasizing Christianity as the alter ego of conservatism. Belief in the Christian concept of a supreme being is not pursuant to individual freedom. As an agnostic, I fully agree with Mr. Eastman that conformity in the basic tenets of religion is a political mentor to the conformity in socialism and Communism. The idea of individual freedom is the most appealing facet of conservatism. Why is this idea almost always connected with a God?

Max Eastman should start publishing a conservative bulletin which would attract agnostics and atheists on the Left as well as non-Christians on the Right. I'll be the first to subscribe.

Buffalo, N. Y. KENNETH K. MAHER JR.

Although I greatly admire the poetry and criticism of Max Eastman, I feel that his "theology" leaves much to be desired. The arguments of a village atheist (even a Greenwich Village atheist) are usually trite and inconclusive: I fear that Mr. Eastman's mild but earnest case against Christianity is no exception to the rule.

To answer Mr. Eastman's question, I would say yes, he is a conservative; his ideas are in the true, traditional and time-honored groove of rigid, diehard, uncompromising and unprogressive atheism. But his poetry is magnificent.

Elmhurst, N. Y. JOHN P. CURRAN

I wish to protest your maligning of Max Eastman's intention on the cover of the Jan. 28 issue.

His protest against Christianity is an old one and a legitimate one. St. Peter started it: "Help my unbelief!"

Mr. Eastman is obviously (to me) very much *for* impeaching those who take God's name in vain.

So am I!

Nogales, Ariz. ALICE B. MCCHESNEY

God bless Max Eastman the infidel. He is a fearless man and a free spirit. We need him to keep an eye on Meyer, Bozell *et al.*

However, I question Max's assertion that "the Marxist religion . . . takes firmer hold of a groping mind in this skeptical age than the primitive myths preserved by the churches."

Perhaps the parish priest in Red Poland was right. "Why," he was asked by the local Communist Party secretary, "do the students flock to your church on Sunday but avoid my party meetings like the plague? After all, we both offer them paradise."

"You see, my son," the priest replied, "they have already tasted your paradise. My paradise is still to come."

New York, N. Y. LEON DENNEN

Well might Mr. Eastman complain that Bozell and Buckley seem to exclude atheists as first-rank fighters against the Red International menace. The fact is as Mr. Eastman implied: Communism is so foreign to the nature of man that however much he may dissent from Christian orthodoxy or be repelled by religiosity or even minimal piety in the old Roman sense, Communism is his enemy, and he, if true to his minimal human nature, its. But for better or worse, those atheists and the irreligious of this world whom we can rate men of good will, are not organized. They exert force as individuals but not in concert; they have no symbols around which they can rally; they have no insignia, no flag; they have chosen for themselves an inhuman role, the role of the eremite, the separatist from society. In their considered wisdom they may well arrive at truer judgments, cleverer calculations, deeper insights than the mass of the godly, but they are in isolation, and like an army unorganized, they stand whipped by the way of the world.

They are in fact organized only in the Communist state, where their philosophical dynamism, their principles, their dogma, are being used by the forces of tyranny just as Cromwell, as cited by Eastman, used the name of God for his savagery, just as the Inquisition invoked the Deity for diabolism.

Since it is obvious to reasoning men that no atheists' brigade will be formed to fight for freedom anywhere, and will be marshalled only to extend the perimeters of the State that insists on opposing not only God but the worship of God, it should not be astonishing that the leaders of the fight for freedom discount the atheist as a significant force. This Mr. Eastman does not like. Rightly so. It is to be treated as a child at the grownups' party.

This is the sense in which Mr. Bozell and Mr. Buckley, with under-

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Speaking Up . . .

M. Catherine Babcock is happy to announce that L. Brent Bozell, noted author and lecturer, is currently at work on a critical history of the Supreme Court. In addition, Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren has just joined her list of distinguished speakers. Dr. Bouscaren, professor of Political Science at LeMoyne College, has published and lectured extensively in his field of Soviet Strategy. He is currently available for speaking engagements in March and April. His topics include: Soviet Challenge-Free World Response, and the Political Left in America.

Your university or club can also write now for openings in the Spring schedules of our other speakers: William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review; Dr. Thomas Molnar, author of *The Decline of the Intellectual;* William Rickenbacker, editor and author; Ralph de Toledano, columnist and author of the latest Goldwater book *The Winning Side;* Dr. Ernest van den Haag, author of *Passion and Social Constraint;* Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, humanist and lecturer; and Frank S. Meyer, brilliant and lively author and editor.

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standable enthusiasm, overstate the case for Christianity as an individual motivation in the war on Communism. But they are right enough when they say that it is to the Christian organizations that the rational man must look for the discipline, the direction, the afflatus and the hope which alone can sustain an army, particularly an army that must fight first of all with patience, with endurance and, because of charity, with only half its arsenal.

Mr. Eastman is indulging in forensics when he says that some men who believe in God were not good men and therefore. . . . He is exercising his rhetoric when he implies that the religious apprehensions of today must blush for the primitive gropings of four thousand years ago. He is unkind when he says that to be a believer is a matter of status. (Status with whom? Does the atheist find status with his fellow atheists by his atheism?) This is irrelevant. Men are men whether they are Christians or atheists. By nature they are anti-Communist, one can say today, even as Tertullian said 1900 years ago that all men are naturally Christians. All have human dignity. But when they march, it must be in step, or at least in the same direction and about the same time. And where is the drum?

Boston, Mass. HERBERT KENNY

Mr. Eastman's feeble attempt to disparage conservatism was a classic in distortion and innuendo. For example, he infers that because Meyer asserts, "Freedom is by itself without content or purpose if the existence of an objective moral order which men should strive to understand and move toward is not accepted," Meyer advocates "ecclesiastical authoritarianism." As I read Mr. Meyer's statement, I understood it to simply mean that there is a way of life which enhances purpose and self-fulfillment. At no time did it enter my mesocephalic mind (until Mr. Eastman informed me) that Mr. Meyer was advocating that each citizen be *forced* to seek that way of life.

Another case in point: Wm. Buckley reasons that Christians tend to be better anti-Communists because they are "less likely to attach the highest value to earthly things." In its context, anyone can readily discern that Mr. Buckley is referring to material possessions and comforts when he writes of "earthly things." Yet Mr. Eastman attempts to insinuate that Buckley equates "earthly things" with freedom.

Just one more point: Mr. Eastman claims that some of our Christian government leaders are less courageous in their stand than the atheistic Communists are in theirs, as evidence that the Christians are less interested in standing up for freedom than they are in saving their own necks. This highly gratuitous assumption attempts to identify the thinking and actions of certain fearful Christian leaders with Christian thinking *per se.* It just isn't so.

Ogden, Utah NORMAN LILLY

I respect Mr. Eastman's religion of the material, but I abhor his logic. He asks if the Christian can be trusted to defend the interests of a world which is not predominantly Christian. Answer: No!

At least the Christian cannot be trusted in the state Mr. Eastman has left him. He would divorce the Christian from his God in ordinary human relations. He would deny the Christian a moral order. He then says to the Christian, "Go out and defend the interests of a world not predominantly Christian." Mr. Eastman is obviously slicing off Christianity's feet and then daring it to run.

What he fails to realize is that Christianity is based on tolerance and respect for other religions. It is not a matter of ramrod and cotton wad as Mr. Eastman would suggest. The fault in Christian relations lies not in their Godliness, but rather in their lack of Godliness. Mr. Eastman's solution of eliminating God is simply pouring grease on the fire.

Mr. Eastman as an atheist has more need of God, even as a myth, in order to realize his humanistic theories than he is willing to admit.

Edgerton, Wis. EDMUND D. GAYDOS

Max Eastman is one of the most magnificent individuals in the world today. I admire him without reservation.

However, I would point out: a "theist" like myself *can* be an effective "anti-Communist individualist" by bearing in mind Eastman's philosophy while holding that, as a "theist," I have the duty to oppose Communism (which would eliminate

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God from society) in order that future generations might have, at least, the opportunity to believe in a Divine Being if they so choose.

Godfrey, Ill. JOHN BOLAND

Men should be free to do as they please, Eastman writes, provided that their actions do not "encroach injuriously upon the rights of others." He appears to regard this statement as a self-evident truth, not reducible to anything more fundamental —an irrefragable premise on which to erect a free society. It is anything but!

The concept of "rights" invokes the idea of a supranatural order, and thus lands us in the antechamber of religion, precisely where Max Eastman, as a card-carrying atheist, does not want to be. He even denies that an "objective moral order" exists. The natural, material order exists, obviously, and the way scientists go about understanding it is, for Eastman, a paradigm of the way all sectors of human life should be lived. From the laboratory he derives what he calls his "Golden Rule of Science." The historical order also exists, and so does the social order of which we are a part. But that's it for Eastman; no moral order and no spiritual order. What, then, in his view, is the status of "rights" in the universe, and where do men get them? If he knows, he certainly doesn't take the trouble to tell us.

Similarly with the concept of "injury." There is no general and solid agreement on the meaning of "injury." Some people believe themselves injured when, in fact, no injury has been done; while others commit actual injury and regard themselves as virtuous. Eastman himself would be pleased, no doubt, to supply instances of the former by citing heresy hunts conducted by churchmen. Here were people who professed to believe that irreparable harm would come to them or to others in their society if an atheist were allowed to utter and publish his views. Injury of this kind would be undetectable by most people today; and the people of a former day who believed themselves so injured we'd regard as mistaken and misguided. Again, it is possible that real injury may be done without arousing the suspicion of the injured. Here, for example, is the Welfare Stater in power, using his office to rob Peter to pay Paul. Injury is actually being done to each of the three parties to this transaction, in my view, but apologists for collectivism see no harm to anyone. To the contrary, they regard the political maneuver which deprives some people of their substance in order to give other people below-cost housing, medical care, insurance and so on, as political morality of the highest order.

Eastman criticizes Frank Meyer for advocating that men give their freedom content by using it to understand and move toward an objective moral order. "To advocate freedom, and then lay down the law as to how men 'should' use it," writes Eastman, "is a contradiction in terms." But Eastman himself is guilty of the same contradiction, for he advocates that men should use their freedom so as not to impair others' rights. Both Meyer and Eastman are saying, in substance, that men should use their freedom to pursue virtue, with this difference, that the pursuit, for Meyer, has a goal, whereas for Eastman there is no object, there is only the acting subject's own inclinations and preferences.

This is the kind of conduct Eastman prefers and exemplifies, and we admire him for it. Now, if all men were of a mind to so act—assuming that they knew how—there wouldn't be enough problems in the world to provoke the kind of a discussion Max Eastman initiated with his article! But all men are not, as a matter of fact, so minded. They do not all share Eastman's preferences, and the other preferences of men of good will. History would be otherwise than it is if it did not contain the record of men of ill will whose tastes incline toward another set of preferences.

Two sets of preferences, two diametrically opposed kinds of conduct, may thus lock horns. When they do, where is the higher court of appeal, the norm or standard common to both and superior to either, by which one pattern of conduct is judged morally superior to the other? Most people would at this point invoke the concept of moral order or moral law. But for Eastman, "all such talk is pedantic pulpiteering . . . insincere and untrustworthy." True, he still has his preferences to fall back on, but this is not good enough in a world

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where so many people are taking their cue instead from the preferences of a Khrushchev, a Mao, or a Castro.

Irvington, N. Y. EDMUND A. OPITZ

Mr. Eastman's concept of the true teachings of Christianity shows a really remarkable ignorance. When J. B. Matthews spoke of the help that some members of the Christian clergy were giving to the Communists, he said they were giving that help because they had been infiltrated by Communists, and were preaching a spurious brand of Christianity. No minister or priest with any understanding of the Bible has ever taught that "the world could be saved by a policy of love and brotherly good will."

And does Mr. Eastman actually believe that Hitler "was conquered by his own lunacy"? According to history, Hitler was conquered by the combined might of British and American fighting men, a great percentage of whom happened to be Christians. Christians will fight and fight hard for their liberty and their beliefs, once they are thoroughly aroused to the danger surrounding them.

Mr. Eastman would do well to follow his own Golden Rule of Science: "Keep clear the distinction between what you know and what you don't know."

West Redding, Conn. PAULINE STEEN

I emphatically request Max Eastman not to accept the leadership of the National Council of Churches as a representative group of American Christians. At the very best, the NCC represents a minority of the churches in America. And many of the churches that are indirectly associated with the NCC are at odds with the Council. There are dozens of fellowships and associations in the United States that are not affiliated in any way with the NCC and are, in fact, opposed to its policies.

Fountain Valley, Calif. D. F. FESSLER

As a firm believer in the existence of God, I found myself reacting with mixed emotions to Max Eastman's article.

I must nevertheless agree with this atheist on one important point, and that is the negligence of our clergy in sounding the clarion on the pulpit

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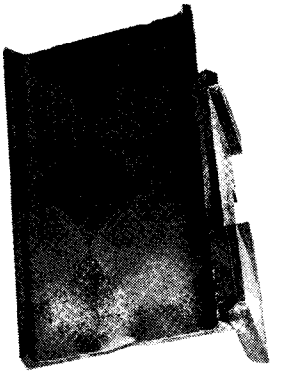

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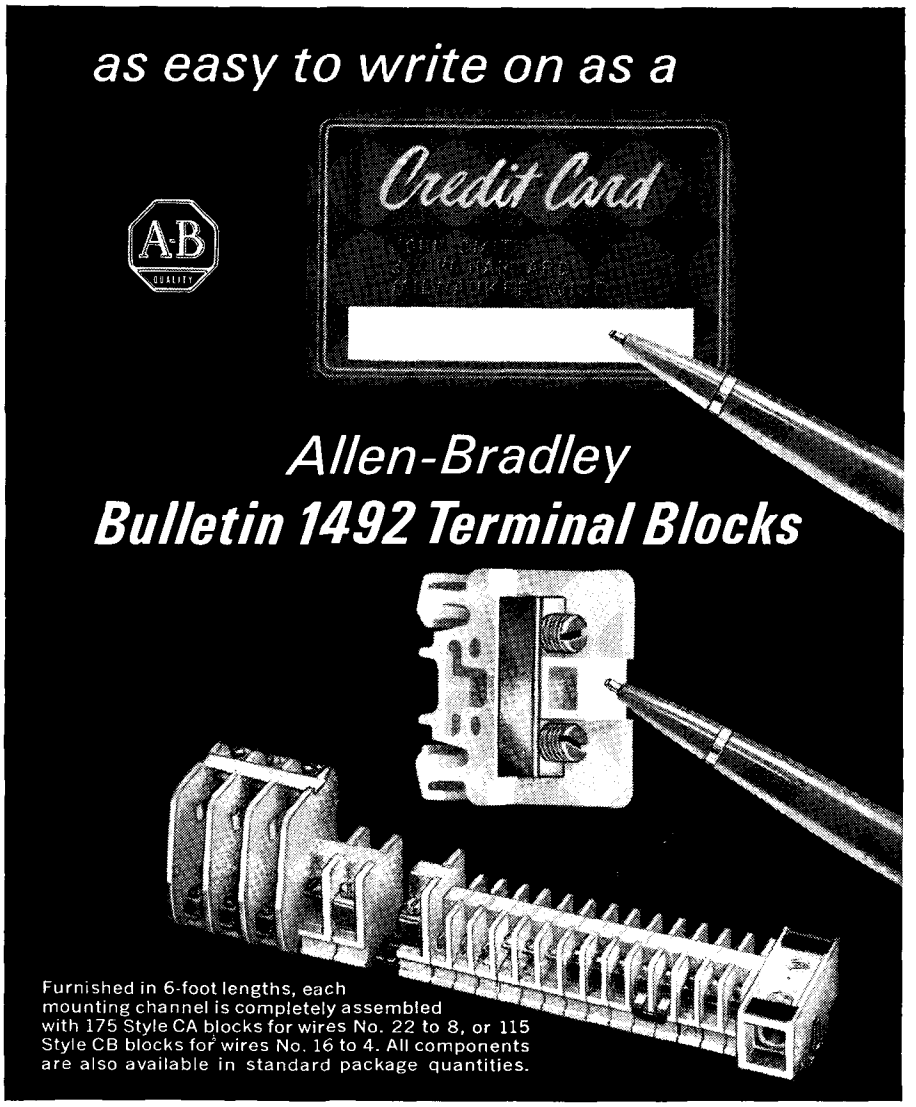
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Let us suggest that you become better acquainted with the complete line of Allen-Bradley terminal blocks, by calling your nearest approved Allen-Bradley distributor, or by writing to: Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 S. Third St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204. In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ontario.

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level. I feel the clergy's response should bring us to our feet in recognition of the dangers involved and suggest means of combatting this evil. To turn the other cheek on sin in benevolent love is to condone sin. This, I know, the Church does not condone—yet its failure to arouse the faithful is causing a great and harmful inertia.

Waldwick, N. J. LEO JEZYCKI

Although a former Chairman of Deacons, I find, anomalously, much support for atheist Max Eastman. Marxist Communism is a religion. Two faiths are on trial: dialectical man *vs.* free man. The Soviets have made a clear moral, albeit negative, choice. They have clearly expressed ideology, without hypocrisy. From a religious point of view Soviet Communism appears less hypocritical to the non-Christian world than does the West's Christianity. Their creed is candid: scientific materialism. They are faithful to that creed. The West preaches the moral code pronounced in the Sermon on the Mount and engages in conquest, colonization and violence. Unlike the Muslims who left saintliness to its saints and were respected conquerors, the West has not learned, nor learned to impart, the dichotomy of Christ *vs.* Caesar.

Therefore, no matter how aggressive, ruthless and treacherous the Communists are in pursuit of their aims, they are nevertheless faithful to their creed. It is we who have betrayed our own ideals and thus been guilty of the most despicable of all disloyalties, the disloyalty to our God.

HARRY K. SNELLBAKER
Upper Montclair, N. J.

With so much of importance to be communicated to your conservative readers, in news, attitudes and personalities, that we cannot learn anywhere else, I accuse you of frivolousness in wasting two whole pages on Eastman. This lost gentleman can have a sentence-by-sentence reply from me to his blurb for the asking.

In the meantime, may I suggest that at least until the nominations and election are over, you consider restraining yourselves from publishing this kind of space-wasting material as well as esoteric and limited-interest discussions of Nazi and Communist movie directors, etc. Keep up the great reporting.

Norwalk, Conn. RAYMOND E. LOW

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Please do not force me to cancel my subscription by putting trash like this in a good magazine.

Beaumont, Tex. MRS. M. J. WILLIAMS

There is, after all, some hope for Mr. Eastman—apparently he reads NATIONAL REVIEW regularly.

Birmingham, Ala. EDWIN S. WILLIAMS

Mr. Eastman's salient mistake was to associate himself with the "radical conservative" movement as reflected in even so eclectic a journal as NATIONAL REVIEW. Mr. Eastman would be much happier as a neo-Randian objectivist spokesman.

Pine Plains, N. Y. ENRICO PEPPE

Congratulations on publishing Max Eastman's article. If we sincerely want "dialogue," this is it! But considering the absolute lack of a sense of humor among your ultra-Liberal—and ultra-orthodox—critics, weren't you even momentarily slowed down by the gruesome prospect of all those indignant letters?

Philadelphia, Pa. (REV.) WILLIAM C. JONES

Corroboration

The article "Ohio and Governor Rhodes" [Jan. 28] was a superb job of reporting. Not familiar with things down Columbus way, I asked an Ohio friend to read this piece. His comment: "That boy Wm. F. Rickenbacker didn't miss a trick."

Fort Wayne, Ind. LUTHER F. MEYER

The Heisters

I wish to congratulate you on the publication of James Leff's hilarious satire "The Heister's Day in Court" [Jan. 14]. Mr. Leff's story effectively demolishes the arguments for "religious liberty" which have been used of late to justify offensive, criminal, and even treasonous conduct.

Jamaica, N. Y. ERIC BLAKE

Heath on Heath

Re Desmond V. Woram's letter [Jan. 28]: If Mrs. Heath has "failed as a parent," I am unaware of it, and I am in an excellent position to tell.

West Hartford, Conn. JAMES B. HEATH

The Shakespeherian Rag

Mr. William F. Gavin [Jan. 28] is clearly unaware of the law-defiant Macbeth's crude oath, exclaimed as he witnessed Birnam Wood advance on Dunsinane: "Cheese it, the copse!"

Stratford, Conn. F. BACON

"Since 1920 the Bell System has been building the world's largest computer — the nationwide dial telephone system. About 96% of the 59 million Bell System telephones are now dial operated.
The 730,000 men and women now working for the Bell System companies are more than two and one-half times the number employed in 1920, when dial conversion began.
Service has improved tremendously. A three-minute cross-country call costs $2.25 today. In 1920 the price was $16.50.
Without automation, telephone service long ago would have been priced out of the reach of a large portion of present subscribers. It is also a fact that, had automation not taken place, it would not now be possible to get enough qualified people to provide the volume and scope of telephone service which the public, industry and government need and have today."
Excerpts from American Telephone and Telegraph Co. statement to the Automation Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, July 1, 1960
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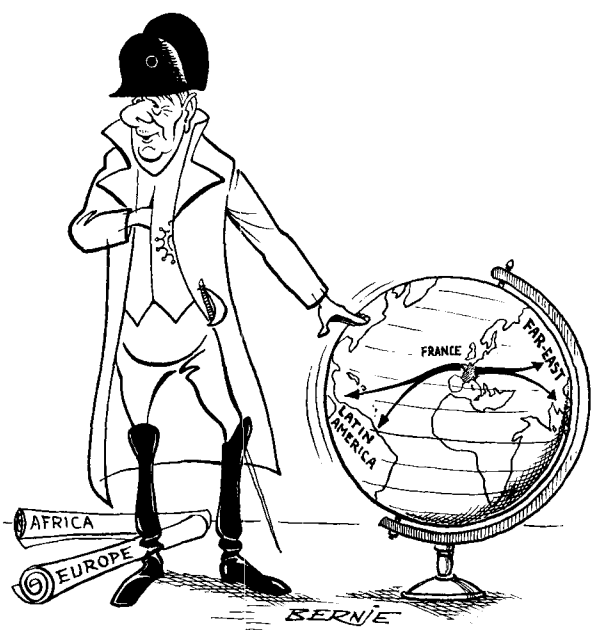
For The Record

Former New Hampshire Attorney General Louis Wyman, now a Republican congressman, says big House vote approving civil rights bill was a phony. If there had been a secret ballot, he contends, the bill, in its present form, would not have gotten fifty votes. . . . Even civil rights champion Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) getting alarmed at Negro agitation tactics. He warns against repetition of acts such as NYC's recent school boycott because they "could sour Liberals on civil rights." . . . William Scranton's supporters don't know whether to be sad, or glad, at revelation he was member of Conservative Party in Yale Political Union. . . . Embattled Pentagon brass showed no such indecision at news that Adam Yarmolinsky, McNamara's Special Assistant for Needling the Military, has been detached for special duty on Sgt. Shriver's poverty patrol.

Anti-Communist author and fighter, Mme. Labin, headed movement of French journalists and parliamentarians that mounted only important protest against Pres. de Gaulle's move to recognize Peking. . . . British waiting to see if Mao Tse-tung will go ahead and exchange ambassadors with France. Great Britain, which recognized Red China thirteen years ago, still has only a Chargé in Peking; is even now doing only $36 million worth of yearly business with the Mainland. . . . Malagasy Republic (Madagascar), which has had trouble with Chinese Communist infiltrations, and the Cameroons, ditto, indicate they will not follow "le Chef" in voting for Red China admission to UN.

Alexander Barmine (Flight for Freedom), former Soviet diplomat who defected over Moscow Purge Trials, became U.S. citizen, has been kicked upstairs in USIA, removing one of last hard and knowledgeable anti-Communists from position of influence. He is slated to retire in near future. . . . Over TV t'other day, Herbert L. Matthews (formerly of the Fidel Castro fan club) indicated that it is he who is writing the N. Y. Times editorials these days on Panama. . . . The bell tolled last week for "Tocsin," the effective and well-researched West Coast anti-Communist weekly, after three years in business. Among its problems: unhonored pledges of support. . . . Dr. Bella Dodd, another effective (and impoverished) anti-Communist fighter, seriously ill in a Brooklyn hospital. (Brooklyn Tablet, 1 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, NY taking up collection for her medical expenses.)



"My new targets!"

Budget news from the UN: As of now, 19 members are paid up, 14 are one year in arrears; 31 two years in arrears; 46 members have paid nothing at all. . . . The UN's peace-keeping force in the Congo announces it won't in terrorist-ravaged Kwilu province because Gen. Mobutu (whose troops also are not keeping the peace) doesn't like them.

When Sen. Mike Monroney proudly informed his constituents that Oklahoma had been chosen (out of 50 available states) for tests on the effect of sonic booms on people, one constituent snapped back: "When will you get us the leper colony?"

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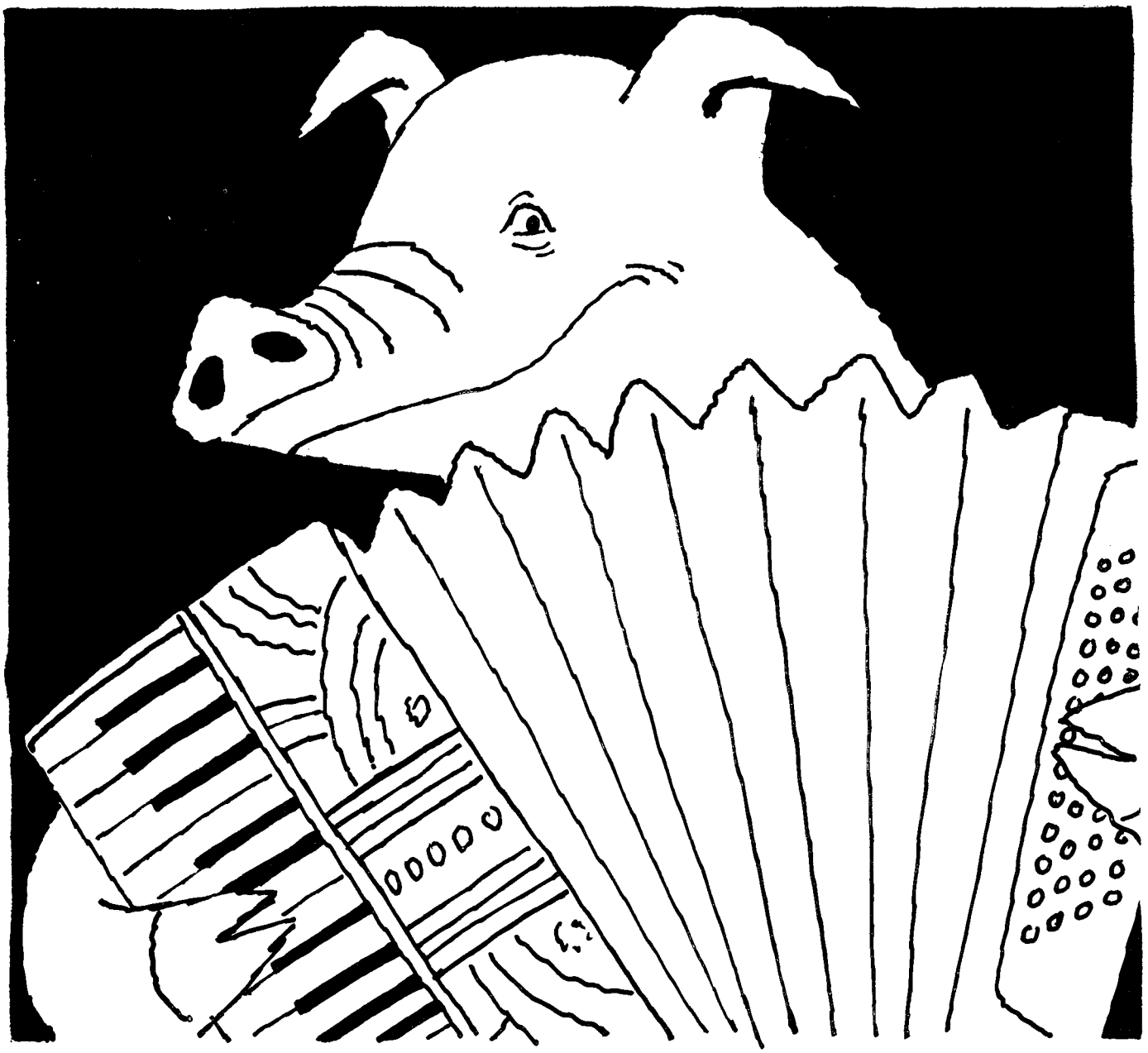

"THE PORK BARREL POLKA"

That was the provocative title of a speech made recently by Mr. Edwin P. Neilan, President of The Chamber of Commerce of the United States. In his speech Mr. Neilan pointed out that too many Americans were dancing to a false tune in seeking federal help through use of political pull. Mr. Neilan said that representatives of government agencies influence local politicians and some business people to force local interest in federally financed projects.

He told of ill-advised projects that ultimately hurt sponsor communities. In part Mr. Neilan said, "Too many businessmen fall for it. Like lambs led to the slaughter, they are tempted into shaky propositions that have no economic justification and are sometimes obviously headed for ruin.

"Essential to this system of vote-buying handouts we have the ballyhoo artists in Washington and in our State Capitols. These are the Congressmen and Senators and Governors—the carefully selected political favorites—who are encouraged to make political hay out of well-publicized announcements of new Federal projects for their Districts or States."

Mr. Neilan points out that morality in government is impossible in the face of federal handouts to political favorites. We concur that "The Pork Barrel Polka" has no place on the American Hit Parade.

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